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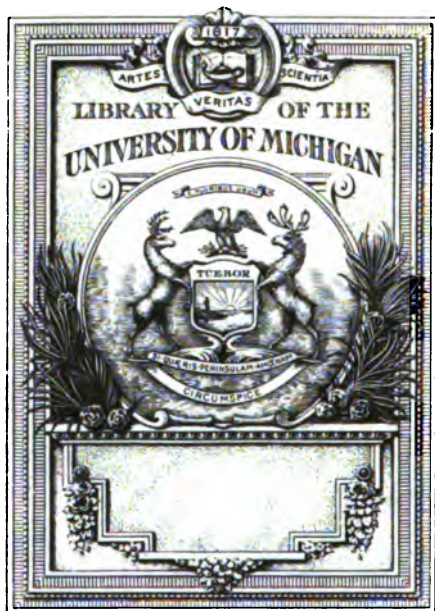
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THE GIFT OF
Hon. Enoch Pratt



THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

VOLUME LX.

FOURTH SERIES, VOLUME XXV.

JANUARY, MARCH, MAY, 1856.

BOSTON:

CROSBY, NICHOLS, AND COMPANY.

NEW YORK: C. S. FRANCIS & CO.

LONDON: EDWARD T. WHITFIELD, 178 STRAND.

1856.

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CAMBRIDGE:
METCALF AND COMPANY, PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.

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THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

JANUARY, 1856.

ART. I. — THE HEBREW DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE LIFE.

ON the one extreme, a large majority of Christian scholars have asserted that the doctrine of a retributive immortality is clearly taught throughout the Old Testament. Able writers, like Bishop Warburton, have maintained, on the other extreme, that it says nothing whatever about a future life, but rather implies the total and eternal end of men in death. But the most judicious and truthful critics, as it seems to us, hold an intermediate position, and affirm that the Hebrew Scriptures show a general belief in the separate existence of the spirit, not indeed as experiencing rewards and punishments, but as surviving in the common silence and gloom of the vast under-world, a desolate empire of darkness yawning beneath all graves, and peopled with dream-like ghosts.

A number of important passages have been cited from different parts of the Old Testament by the advocates of the view first mentioned above. It will be well for us to notice these and their misuse before proceeding farther with our subject.

The translation of Enoch has been regarded as a revelation of the immortality of man. It is singular that Dr. Priestley should suggest, as the probable fact, so sheer and baseless a hypothesis as he does in his notes upon

the book of Genesis. He says, "Enoch was probably a prophet authorized to announce the reality of another life after this, and he might be removed into it, without dying, as an evidence of the truth of his doctrine." The gross materialism of this supposition, and the failure of God's design which it implies, are a sufficient refutation of it. And besides the utter unlikelihood of the thought, it is entirely destitute of support in the premises. One of the most curious of the many strange things to be found in Warburton's argument for the Divine Legation of Moses — an argument marked, as is well known, by profound erudition, and, in many respects, by consummate ability — is the use he makes of this account to prove that Moses believed the doctrine of immortality, but purposely obscured the fact from which it might be drawn by the people, in order that it might not interfere with his doctrine of the temporal special providence of Jehovah over the Jewish nation. Such a course is inconsistent with sound morality, much more with the character of an inspired prophet of God.

The only history we have of Enoch is in the fifth chapter of the book of Genesis. The substance of it is as follows: "And Enoch walked with God during his appointed years; and then he was not, for God took him." The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews — following the example of those Rabbins who several centuries before his time began to give mystical interpretations of the Scriptures — infers from this statement that Enoch was borne into heaven without tasting death. But it is not certainly known who the author of that Epistle was; and whoever he was, his opinion, of course, can have no authority upon a subject of *criticism*, like this. It would seem as if Paul was not the author of the sentiment in question, because he, undeniably, believed that Christ was the first man ever taken from the earth, or from the world of shadows under the ground, to the world of angels over the sky. Replying to the supposititious argument furnished by this passage, we say, Take the account as it reads, and it neither asserts nor implies the idea commonly held concerning it. It says nothing about translation or immortality, nor can anything of the kind be legitimately deduced from it. Its plain meaning is no more nor less than this: Enoch

lived three hundred and sixty-five years, fearing God and keeping his commandments, and then he died. Many of the Rabbins, fond as they are of finding the doctrine of future blessedness for the good, in the Pentateuch, interpret this narrative, justly, as only signifying an immature death : for Enoch, it will be recollected, reached but about half the average age of the others whose names are mentioned in the chapter. Had this occurrence been intended as the revelation of a truth, it would have been fully and clearly stated, otherwise it could not answer any purpose. As Le Clerc observes, "If the writer believed so important a fact as that Enoch was immortal, it is wonderful that he related it as secretly and obscurely as if he wished to hide it." But, finally, even admitting that the account is to be regarded as teaching literally that God took Enoch, it by no means proves a revelation of the doctrine of general immortality. It does not show that anybody else would ever be translated, or would in any way enter upon a future state of existence. It is not put forth as a revelation, it says nothing whatever concerning a revelation. It seems to mean, either that Enoch suddenly died, or that he disappeared, nobody knew whither. But if it really means that God took him into heaven, it is more natural to think that that was done as a special favor than as a sign of what awaited others. No general cause is stated, no consequence deduced, no principle laid down, no reflection added. How then can it be said that the doctrine of a future life for man is revealed by it, or implicated in it?

The removal of Elijah in a chariot of fire, of which we read in the second chapter of the Second Book of Kings, is usually supposed to have served as a miraculous proof of the fact that the faithful servants of Jehovah were to be rewarded with a life in the heavens. The author of this book is not known, and can hardly be guessed at with any degree of plausibility. It was unquestionably written, or rather compiled, a long time — probably several hundred years — after the prophets, whose wonderful adventures it recounts, had passed away. The internal evidence is sufficient, both in quality and quantity, to demonstrate that the book is for the most part a collection of traditions. This characteristic applies with particular force to the ascension of Elijah. But grant the

literal truth of the account, it will not prove the point in support of which it is advanced, because it does not purport to have been done as a revelation of the doctrine in question, nor did it in any way answer the purpose of such a revelation. So far from this, in fact, it does not seem even to have suggested the bare idea of another state of existence in a single instance. For when Elisha returned without Elijah, and told the sons of the prophets at Jericho that his master had gone up in a chariot of fire, — which event they knew beforehand was going to happen, — they, instead of asking the particulars or exulting over the revelation of a life in heaven, calmly said to him, “Behold, there be with thy servants fifty sons of strength; let them go, we pray thee, and seek for Elijah, lest peradventure a whirlwind, the blast of the Lord, hath caught him up and cast him upon one of the mountains, or into one of the valleys.’ And he said, Ye shall not send. But when they urged him till he was ashamed, he said, Send.” This is all that is told us. Had it occurred as is stated, it would not so easily have passed from notice; but mighty inferences, never to be forgotten, would have been drawn from it at once. The story as it stands reminds one of the closing scene in the career of Romulus, speaking of whom the Latin historian says: “In the thirty-seventh year of his reign, while he was reviewing an army, a tempest arose, in the midst of which he was suddenly snatched from the eyes of men. Hence some thought he was killed by the Senators, others that he was borne aloft to the gods.” If the ascension of Elijah to heaven in a chariot of fire did really take place, and the books held by the Jews as inspired and sacred contained a history of it at the time of our Saviour, it is certainly singular that neither he nor any of the Apostles allude to it in connection with the subject of a future life.

The miracles performed by Elijah and by Elisha in restoring the dead children to life — related in the seventeenth chapter of the First Book of Kings, and in the fourth chapter of the Second Book — are often cited in proof of the position that the doctrine of immortality is revealed in the Old Testament. The narration of these events is found in a record of unknown authorship. The mode in which the miracles were effected, if they

were miracles, — the prophet measuring himself upon the child, his eyes upon his eyes, his mouth upon his mouth, his hands upon his hands, and in one case the child sneezing seven times, — looks dubious. The two accounts so closely resemble each other, as to cast still greater suspicion upon both. In addition to these considerations, and even fully granting the reality of the miracles, they do not touch the real controversy, namely, whether the Hebrew Scriptures contain the revealed doctrine of a conscious immortality or of a future retribution. The prophet said, "O Lord my God, let this child's soul, I pray thee, come into his inward parts again." "And the Lord heard the voice of Elijah, and the soul of the child came into him again, and he revived." Now the most this can show is that the child's soul was then existing in a separate state. It does not prove that the soul was immortal, nor that it was experiencing retribution, nor even that it was conscious. And we do not deny that the ancient Jews believed that the spirits of the dead retained a nerveless, shadowy being in the solemn vaults of the under-world. The Hebrew word rendered *soul* in the text is susceptible of three meanings: first, the *shade* which upon the dissolution of the body is gathered to its fathers in the great subterranean congregation; second, the *breath* of a person, used as synonymous with his life; third, a part of the vital breath of God, which the Hebrews regarded as the source of the *life* of all creatures, and the withdrawing of which they supposed was the cause of death. It is clear that neither of these meanings can prove anything in regard to the real point at issue, that is, concerning a future life of rewards and punishments.

One of the strongest arguments brought to support the proposition which we are combating — at least so considered by nearly all the Rabbins, and by not a few modern critics — is the account of the vivification of the dead recorded in the thirty-seventh chapter of the book of Ezekiel. The prophet "was carried in the spirit of Jehovah," that is, mentally, in a prophetic ecstasy, into a valley full of dry bones. "The bones came together, the flesh grew on them, the breath came into them, and they lived and stood on their feet, an exceedingly great host." It should first be observed, that this account is not given

as an actual occurrence or a fact, but, after the manner of Ezekiel, as a prophetic vision meant to symbolize something. Now of what was it intended as the symbol,—a doctrine, or a coming event,—a general truth to enlighten and guide uncertain men, or an approaching deliverance to console and encourage the desponding Jews? It is fair to let the prophet be his own interpreter, without aid from the glosses of prejudiced theorists. It must be borne in mind that at this time the prophet and his countrymen were bearing the grievous burden of bondage in a foreign nation. "And Jehovah said to me, Son of man, these bones denote the whole house of Israel. Behold they say, 'Our bones are dried, and our hope is lost, and we are cut off.'" This plainly denotes their present suffering in the Babylonish captivity, and their despair of being delivered from it. "Therefore prophesy, and say to them, 'Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, Behold, I will open your graves and cause you to come up out of your graves, O my people, and bring you into the land of Israel.'" That is, I will rescue you from your slavery and restore you to freedom in your own land. The dry bones and their subsequent vivification therefore clearly symbolize the misery of the Israelites and their speedy restoration to happiness. Death is frequently used in a figurative sense to denote misery, and life to signify happiness. But those who maintain that the doctrine of the resurrection is taught as a revealed truth in the Hebrew Scriptures, are not willing to let this passage pass so easily. Mr. Barnes says, "The illustration proves that the doctrine was one with which the people were familiar." Jerome states the argument more fully, thus: "A similitude drawn from the resurrection, to foreshadow the restoration of the people of Israel, would never have been employed unless the resurrection itself were believed to be a fact of future occurrence; for no one thinks of confirming what is uncertain by what has no existence." It is not difficult to reply to these objections with convincing force. First, the vision was not used as proof or confirmation, but as symbol and prophecy. Secondly, the use of anything as an illustration does by no means imply that it is commonly believed as a fact. For instance, we are told in the ninth chapter of the book of Judges, that Jotham related an

allegory to the people as an illustration of their conduct in choosing a king, saying, "The trees once on a time went forth to anoint a king over them; and they said to the olive-tree, Come thou and reign over us,"—and so on. Does it follow that at that time it was a common belief that the trees actually went forth once in a while to choose them a king? Thirdly, if a given thing is generally believed as a fact, a person who uses it expressly as a symbol, of course does not thereby give his sanction to it as a fact. And if a belief in the resurrection of the dead were generally entertained in the time of the prophet, its origin is not implied, and it does not follow that it was a doctrine of revelation, or even a true doctrine. Finally, there is one consideration which shows conclusively that this vision was never intended to typify the resurrection; namely, that it has nothing corresponding to the most essential part of that doctrine. When the bones have come together and are covered with flesh, God does not call up the departed spirits of these bodies from Sheol, does not bring back the vanished lives to animate their former tabernacles, now miraculously renewed. No, he but breathes on them with his vivifying breath, and straightway they live and move. This is not a resurrection, but a new creation. The common idea of a bodily restoration implies—and that any just retribution be compatible with it, it necessarily implies—the vivification of the dead frame, not by the introduction of new life, but by the reinstalment of the very same life or spirit, the identical consciousness that before animated it. Such is not represented as being the case in Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones. That vision had no reference to another life, or to the future state.

In this connection, the revelation made by the angel in his prophecy, recorded in the twelfth chapter of the book of Daniel, concerning the things which should happen in the Messianic times, must not be passed without notice. It reads as follows: "And many of the sleepers of the dust of the ground shall awake, those to life everlasting, and these to shame, to contempt everlasting. And they that are wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever." No one can deny that a judg-

ment, in which reward and punishment shall be distributed according to merit, is here clearly foretold. The meaning of the text, taken with the connection, is, that when the Messiah appears, and establishes his kingdom, the righteous shall enjoy a bodily resurrection upon the earth to honor and happiness ; but the wicked shall be left below, doomed to eternal darkness and death.* This seems to imply, fairly enough, that until the advent of the Messiah none of the dead were existing consciously in a state of retribution. The doctrine of the passage, as is well known, was held by some of the Jews at the beginning of the Christian era, and, less distinctly, for about two centuries previous. Before that time no traces of it can be found in their history. Now had a doctrine of such intense interest and of such vast importance as this been a matter of revelation, it seems hardly possible that it should have been confined to one brief and solitary text, that it should have flashed up for a single moment so brilliantly, and then vanished for three or four centuries in utter darkness. Furthermore, nearly one half of the book of Daniel is written in the Chaldee tongue, and the other half in the Hebrew, indicating that it had two authors, who wrote their respective portions at different periods. Its critical and minute details of events are history rather than prophecy. The greater part of the book was undoubtedly written as late as about a hundred and sixty years before Christ, long after the awful simplicity and solitude of the original Hebrew theology had been marred and corrupted by an intermixture of the doctrines of those heathen nations with whom the Jews had been often brought in contact. It was ascribed to Daniel by one of those pious frauds frequently discovered even in the history of our own religion. The motive for assigning it to him was to give the authority and weight of so great a name to its flattering relations and its encouraging prophecies. Such being the facts in the case, the text is evidently without force to prove a divine revelation of the doctrine it teaches.

In the twenty-second chapter of the Gospel by Matthew, Jesus says to the Sadducees, " But as touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which

* See "The Last Things," by Rev. Walter Wood, p. 46.

was spoken unto you by God, saying, 'I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob'? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." The passage to which reference is made is written in the third chapter of the book of Exodus. In order to ascertain the force of the Saviour's argument, the extent of meaning it had in his mind, and the amount of knowledge attributed by it to Moses, it will be necessary to determine first what purpose he had definitely in view in his reply to the Sadducees, and how he proposed to accomplish it. We shall find that the use he made of the text does not imply that Moses had the slightest idea of any sort of future life for man, much less of an immortal life of blessedness for the good, and of suffering for the bad. We should suppose, beforehand, that such would be the case, since upon examining the declaration cited, with its context, we find it to be simply a statement made by Jehovah explaining who he was, — that he was the ancient national guardian of the Jews, the Lord God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. This does not seem to contain the most distant allusion to the immortality of man, or to have suggested any such thought to the mind of Moses. It should be distinctly understood from the outset, that Jesus did not quote this passage from the Pentateuch as proving anything of itself, or as intending to prove anything by it directly, but he quoted it as being of acknowledged authority to the Sadducees themselves, *to form the basis of a process of reasoning*. The purpose he had in view plainly was, to convince the Sadducees either of the possibility or of the actuality of the resurrection of the dead. Its possibility, if we assume that by resurrection he meant the Jewish doctrine of a material restoration, the reunion of soul and body; its actuality, if we suppose he meant the conscious immortality of the soul separate from the body. If the resurrection was physical, Christ demonstrates to the Sadducees its possibility, by refuting the false notion upon which they based their denial of it, — thus. They said, The resurrection of the body is impossible, because the principle of life, the consciousness, has utterly perished, and the body cannot live alone. He replied, It is possible, because the soul has an existence separate from the body, and may, consequently, be reunited to it. You admit that Jehovah

said, after they were dead, I am the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: but he is the God of the living, and not of the dead, for all live unto him. You must confess this. The soul then survives the body, and a resurrection is possible. It will be seen that this implies nothing concerning the nature or duration of the separate existence, merely the fact of it. But if Christ meant by the resurrection of the dead, as we think he did, the introduction of the disembodied and conscious soul into a state of eternal blessedness, the Sadducees denied its reality by maintaining that no such thing as a soul existed after bodily dissolution. He then proved to them its reality in the following manner. You believe — for Moses, to whose authority you implicitly bow, relates it — that God said, “I am the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,” and this, long after they died. But evidently he cannot be said to be the God of that which does not exist; therefore their souls must have been still alive. And if Jehovah was emphatically their God, their friend, of course he will show them his loving-kindness. They are, then, in a conscious state of blessedness. The Saviour does not imply that God said so much in substance, nor that Moses intended to teach, or even knew, anything like it; but that, by adding to the passage cited a premise of his own, which his hearers granted to be true, he could deduce so much from it by a train of new and unanswerable reasoning. His opponents were compelled to admit the legitimacy of his argument, and, impressed by its surpassing beauty and force, were silenced, if not convinced. The credit of this cogent proof of human immortality, — God’s love for man is a pledge and warrant of his eternal blessedness, — a proof whose perfect originality and infinite significance set it far beyond all possibility of a parallel, — is due to the dim gropings of no Hebrew prophet, but to the inspired insight of the great Founder of Christianity.

The various passages yet unnoticed which purport to have been uttered by Jehovah, or at his command, and which are urged to show that the reality of a retributive life after death is a revealed doctrine of the Old Testament, will be found, upon critical examination, either to owe their entire relevant force to mistranslation, or to be fairly refuted by the reasonings already advanced. Pro-

fessor Stuart admits that he finds only one consideration to show that Moses had any idea of a future retribution ; and that is, that the Egyptians expressly believed it, and he is not able to comprehend how Moses, who dwelt so long among them, should be ignorant of it.* The reasoning is obviously inconsequential. It is not certain that the Egyptians held this doctrine in the time of Moses ; it may have prevailed among them before or after, and not during that period. If they believed it at that time, it may have been an esoteric doctrine, with which he would not become acquainted. If they believed it, and he knew it, he might have classed it with other heathen doctrines, and supposed it false. And even if he himself believed it, he might possibly not have inculcated it upon the Israelites, and the question is, what he did actually teach, not what he knew.

The opinions of the Jews at the time of our Saviour have no bearing upon the point in hand, because they were received at a later period than the writing of the records we are now considering. They were formed, and gradually grew in consistency, and in favor, either by the natural progress of thought among the Jews themselves, or, more probably, by a blending of the intimations of the Hebrew Scriptures with Gentile speculations,—the doctrines of the Egyptians, Hindoos, and Persians. We leave this portion of the subject, then, with the following proposition. In the canonic books of the Old Dispensation there is not a single genuine text, claiming to have come from God, which teaches explicitly any doctrine whatever of a life beyond the grave. That doctrine as it existed among the Jews was no part of their pure religion, but was a part of their philosophy. It did not, as they held it, imply anything like our present idea of the immortality of the soul reaping in the spiritual world what it had sowed in the physical. It simply declared the subsistence of human ghosts amidst unbroken gloom and stillness in the cavernous depths of the earth, without reward, without punishment, without employment, scarcely with consciousness,—as will immediately appear.

We now proceed to the second general division of the

* *Exegetical Essays*, (Andover, 1830,) p. 108.

subject. What does the Old Testament, apart from the revelation claimed to be contained in it, and regarding only those portions of it which are a collection of the poetry, history, and philosophy of the Hebrews, intimate concerning a future state of existence? Examining these writings with an unbiassed mind, we discover that in different portions of them there are large variations and opposition of opinion. In some books we trace an undoubting belief in certain rude notions of the future condition of souls; in other books we encounter unqualified denials of every such thing. "Man lieth down and riseth not," sighs the despairing Job. "The dead cannot praise God, neither any that go down into darkness," wails the repining Psalmist. "All go to one place," and "the dead know not anything," asserts the disbelieving Preacher. These inconsistencies we shall not stop to point out and comment upon. They are immaterial to our present purpose, which is to bring together, in their general agreement, the sum and substance of the Hebrew ideas on this subject.

The separate existence of the soul is necessarily implied by the distinction the Hebrews make between the grave, or sepulchre, and the under-world, or abode of shades. The Hebrew words *bor* (בּוֹר) and *keber* (קֶבֶר) mean simply the narrow place in which the dead body is buried, while *Sheol* (שְׁאוֹל) represents an immense cavern in the interior of the earth where the ghosts of the deceased are assembled. When the patriarch was told that his son Joseph was slain by wild beasts, he cried aloud in bitter sorrow, "I will go down into Sheol unto my son, mourning." He did not expect to meet Joseph in the grave, for he supposed his body torn in pieces and scattered in the wilderness, not laid in the family tomb. The dead are said to be "gathered to their people," or to "sleep with their fathers," and this whether they are interred in the same place or in a remote region. It is written, "Abraham gave up the ghost, and was gathered unto his people," notwithstanding his body was laid in a cave in the field of Machpelah, close by Hebron, while his people were buried in Chaldea and Mesopotamia. "Isaac gave up the ghost and died, and was gathered unto his people"; and then we read, as if it were done afterwards, "His sons, Jacob and Esau, buried him."

These instances might be multiplied. They prove that "to be gathered unto one's fathers" means to descend into Sheol and join there the hosts of the departed. A belief in the separate existence of the soul is also involved in the belief in necromancy, or divination, the prevalence of which is shown by the stern laws against those who engaged in its unhallowed rites, and by the history of the witch of Endor. She, it is said, by magical spells evoked the shade of old Samuel from below. It must have been the spirit of the prophet that was supposed to rise; for his body was buried at Ramah, more than sixty miles from Endor. The faith of the Hebrews in the separate existence of the soul is shown, furthermore, by the fact that the language they employed expresses, in every instance, the distinction of body and spirit. They had particular words appropriated to each. "As thy soul liveth," is a Hebrew oath. "With my spirit within me will I seek thee early." "I, Daniel, was grieved in my spirit in the midst of my body"; the figure here represents the soul in the body as a sword in a sheath. "Our bones are scattered at the mouth of the under-world, as when one cutteth and cleaveth wood upon the earth"; that is, the soul, expelled from its case of clay by the murderer's weapon, flees into Sheol and leaves its *exuviae* at the entrance. "Thy voice shall be as that of a spirit out of the ground"; the word *aov* (אוי), here used, signifies the shade evoked by a necromancer from the region of death, which was imagined to speak in a feeble whisper.

The term *rephaim* (רפאים) is used to denote the *manes* of the departed. The etymology of the word, as well as its use, makes it mean the weak, the relaxed. "I am counted as them that go down into the under-world, I am as a man that hath no strength." This faint, powerless condition agrees with the idea that they were destitute of flesh, blood, and animal life, mere *umbrae*. These ghosts are described as being nearly as destitute of sensation as they are of strength. They are called "the inhabitants of the land of stillness." They exist in an inactive, partially torpid state, with a dreamy consciousness of past and present, neither suffering nor enjoying, and seldom moving. Herder says of the Hebrews: "The sad and mournful images of their ghostly realm disturbed them,

and were too much for their self-possession." Respecting these images, he adds: "Their voluntary force and energy were destroyed. They were feeble as a shade, without distinction of members, as a nerveless breath. They wandered and flitted in the dark nether world." This "wandering and flitting," however, is rather the spirit of Herder's poetry than of that of the Hebrews. For the whole tenor and drift of the representations in the Old Testament show that the state of disembodied souls is deep quietude. Freed from bondage, pain, toil, and care, they repose in silence. The ghost summoned from beneath by the witch of Endor, said, "Why hast thou disquieted me to bring me up?" It was, to be sure, in a dismal abode that they took their long ease, but then it was in a place "where the wicked ceased from troubling and the weary were at rest."

Those passages which attribute active employments to the dwellers in the under-world are specimens of poetic license, as the context always shows. When Job says, "Before Jehovah the shades beneath tremble," he likewise declares, "The pillars of heaven tremble and are confounded at his rebuke." When Isaiah breaks forth in that stirring lyric to the king of Babylon,—

"The under-world is in commotion on account of thee,
To meet thee at thy coming;
It stirreth up before thee the shades, all the mighty of the earth;
It arouseth from their thrones all the kings of the nations;
They all accost thee, and say,
Art thou too become weak as we?"—

he also exclaims, in the same connection:—

"Even the cypress-trees exult over thee
And the cedars of Lebanon, saying,
Since thou art fallen,
No man cometh up to cut us down."

The activity thus vividly described is evidently a mere figure of speech; so is it in the other instances which picture the *rephaim* as employed and in motion. "Why," complainingly sighed the afflicted patriarch, "why died I not at my birth? For now should I lie down and be quiet; I should slumber; I should then be at rest." And the wise man says, in his preaching, "There is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in Sheol." What has already been said is sufficient to establish the fact, that the Hebrews had an idea that the souls of men

left their bodies at death and existed as dim shadows, in a state of undisturbed repose, in the bowels of the earth.

Sheol is directly derived from the Hebrew word (שְׁאוֹל), signifying, first, *to dig* or *excavate*. It means, therefore, a cavity, or empty subterranean place. Its derivation is usually connected, however, with the secondary meaning of the above word, namely, *to ask*, *to desire*, from the notion of demanding, since rapacious Orcus lays claim unsparingly to all; or, as others have fancifully turned it, the object of universal inquiry, the unknown mansion concerning which all are anxiously inquisitive. The place is conceived on an immense scale, shrouded in accompaniments of gloomy grandeur and peculiar awe;—an enormous cavern in the earth, filled with night; a stupendous hollow kingdom, to which are poetically attributed valleys and gates, and in which are congregated the slumberous and shadowy hosts of the *rephaim*, never able to go out of it again for ever. Its awful stillness is unbroken by noise. Its thick darkness is uncheered by light. It stretches far down under the ground. It is wonderfully deep. In language that reminds one of Milton's description of hell, where was

“No light, but rather darkness visible,”

Job describes it as “the land of darkness, like the blackness of death-shade, where is no order, and where the light is as darkness.” The following passages, selected almost at random, will show the ideas entertained of the place, and confirm and illustrate the foregoing statements. “But he considers not that in the valleys of *Sheol* are her guests.” “Now shall I go down into the gates of *Sheol*.” “The ground clave asunder, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up, and their houses, and all their men, and all their goods; they and all that appertained to them went down alive into *Sheol*, and the earth closed upon them.” Its depth is contrasted with the height of the sky. “Though they dig into *Sheol*, thence shall mine hand take them; though they climb up to heaven, thence will I bring them down.” It is the destination of all; for though the Hebrews believed in a world of glory above the solid ceiling of the dome of day, where Jehovah and the angels dwelt, yet there was no promise, hope, or hint that any man could

ever go there. The dirge-like burden of their poetry was literally these words: "What man is he that liveth and shall not see death? Shall he deliver his spirit from the hand of Sheol?" The old Hebrew graves were crypts, wide, deep holes, like the habitations of the Troglodytes. In these subterranean caves they laid the dead down; and so the Grave became the mother of Sheol, a rendezvous of the fathers, a realm of the dead, full of eternal ghost-life.

This under-world is dreary and altogether undesirable save as an escape from extreme anguish. But it is not a place of retribution. Jahn says, "That, in the belief of the ancient Hebrews, there were different situations in Sheol for the good and the bad, cannot be proved." * The sudden termination of the present life, is the judgment the Old Testament threatens upon sinners; its happy prolongation, the reward it promises to the righteous. Texts that would prove this might be quoted in numbers from almost every page. "The wicked shall be turned into Sheol, and all the nations that forget God," not to be punished there, but as a punishment. It is true, the good and the bad alike pass into that gloomy land, but the former go down tranquilly in a good old age and full of days, as a shock of corn fully ripe cometh in its season, while the latter are suddenly hurried there by an untimely and miserable fate. The man that loves the Lord shall have length of days; the unjust, though for a moment he flourishes, yet the wind bloweth, and where is he?

We shall perhaps gain a more clear and adequate knowledge of the ideas the Hebrews had of the soul and of its fate, by marking the different meanings of the words they used to denote it. *Neshamah* (נֶשְׁמָה), primarily meaning breath or airy effluence, next expresses the Spirit of God as imparting life and force, wisdom and love; also the spirit of man as its emanation, creation, or sustained object. The citation of a few texts in which the word occurs will set this in a full light. "The Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the spirit of existence, and man became a conscious being." "It is the divine spirit of

* Jahn's Bib. Arch., sect. 314.

man, even the inspiration of the Almighty, that giveth him understanding." "The Spirit of God made me, and his breath gave me life."

Ruah (רוח) signifies, originally, a breathing or blowing. Two other meanings are directly connected with this. First, the vital spirit, the principle of life as manifested in the breath of the mouth and nostrils. "And they went in unto Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh in whose nostrils was the breath of life." Second, the wind, the motions of the air, which the Hebrews supposed caused by the breath of God. "By the blast of thine anger the waters were gathered on an heap." "The channels of waters were seen, and the foundations of the world were discovered, O Lord, at the blast of the breath of thy nostrils." So they regarded the thunder as his voice. "The voice of Jehovah cutteth out the fiery lightnings," and "shaketh the wilderness of Kadesh." This word is also frequently placed for the rational spirit of man, the seat of intellect and feeling. It is likewise sometimes representative of the character and disposition of men, whether good or bad. Hosea speaks of "a spirit of vile lust." In the Second Book of Chronicles we read: "There came out a spirit, and stood before Jehovah, and said, I will entice King Ahab to his destruction. I will go out and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets." Belshazzar says to Daniel, "I know that the spirit of the holy gods is in thee." Finally, it is applied to Jehovah, signifying the divine spirit, or power, by which all animate creatures live, the universe is filled with motion, all extraordinary gifts of skill, genius, strength, or virtue are bestowed, and men incited to forsake evil and walk in the paths of truth and piety. "Thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created, and thou renewest the face of the earth; thou takest away their breath, they die and return to their dust." "Jehovah will be a spirit of justice in them that sit to administer judgment." It seems to be implied that the life of man, having emanated from this spirit, is to be again absorbed in it, when it is said, "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it."

Nephesh (נֶפֶשׁ) is but partially a synonyme for the word whose significations we have just considered. The dif-

ferent senses it bears are strangely interchanged and confounded, in King James's version. Its first meaning is breath, the breathing of a living being. Next it means the vital spirit, the indwelling life of the body. "If any mischief follow, thou shalt take life for life." The most adequate rendering of it would be, in a great majority of instances, by the term *life*. "In jeopardy of his life [not *soul*] hath Adonijah spoken this." It sometimes represents the intelligent soul or mind, the subject of knowledge and desire. "My soul knoweth right well."

Lav (לֵב) also, or the heart, is often used, more frequently, perhaps, than any other term, as meaning the vital principle, and the seat of consciousness, intellect, will, and affection. Jehovah said to Solomon, in answer to his prayer, "Lo, I have given thee a wise and an understanding heart." The later Jews speculated much, with many cabalistical refinements, on these different words. They said many persons were supplied with a *Nephesh* without a *Ruah*, much more without a *Neshamah*. They declared that the *Nephesh* (*Psyche*) was the soul of the body, the *Ruah* (*Pneuma*) the soul of the *Nephesh*, and the *Neshamah* (*Nous*) the soul of the *Ruah*. Some of the Rabbins assert that the destination of the *Nephesh*, when the body dies, is *Sheol*; of the *Ruah*, the air; and of the *Neshamah*, heaven.*

The Hebrews used all those words in speaking of brutes, to denote their sensitive existence, that they did in reference to man. They held that life was in every instance an emission, or breath, from the Spirit of God. But they do not intimate of brutes, as they do of men, that they have surviving shades. The author of the book of Ecclesiastes, however, declares in downright terms, that "all have one breath, and all go to one place, so that a man hath no pre-eminence above a beast." As far as the words used to express existence, soul, or mind legitimate any inference, it would seem to be, either that the essential life is poured out at death as so much air, or else that it is received again by God; in both cases implying, naturally, though not of philosophic necessity, the close of conscious, individual existence. But the ex-

* *Tractatus de Anima* a R. Moscheh Korduero. In *Kabbala Denudata*, Tom. I. Pars II.

amination we have made of their real opinions shows that, however obviously this conclusion might flow from their pneumatology, yet it was not the expectation they cherished. They believed there was a dismal empire in the earth where the *rephaim*, or ghosts of the dead, reposed for ever in a state of semi-sleep.

"It is a land of shadows; yea, the land
Itself is but a shadow, and the race
That dwell therein are voices, forms of forms,
And echoes of themselves."

That, during the time covered by their sacred records, the Hebrews had no conception of a retributive life beyond the present, knew nothing of a blessed immortality, is shown by two conclusive arguments, in addition to the positive demonstration afforded by the views we have seen they did actually hold in regard to the future lot of man. First, they were troubled, they were puzzled and distressed, by the moral phenomena of the present life, the misfortunes of the righteous, the prosperity of the wicked. Read the book of Ecclesiastes, the book of Job, some of the Psalms. Had they been acquainted with future reward and punishment, they would easily have solved these problems to their satisfaction. Secondly, they regarded life as the one blessing, death as the one evil. Something of sadness, we may suppose, was in the wise man's tones when he said, "A living dog is better than a dead lion." Obey Jehovah's laws, that thy days may be long in the land he giveth thee; the wicked shall not live out half his days: such is the burden of the Old Testament. It was reserved for a later age to see life and immortality brought to light, and for the disciples of a clearer faith to feel that death is gain.

There are many passages in the Hebrew Scriptures generally supposed, and really appearing, upon a slight examination, not afterwards, to teach doctrines different from those here stated. We will give two examples in a condensed form. "Thou wilt not leave my soul in Sheol; at thy right hand are pleasures for evermore." This text, properly translated and explained, means, Thou wilt not leave me to misfortune and untimely death; in thy royal favor is prosperity and length of days. "I know that my Redeemer liveth; . . . in my flesh I shall see God." The genuine meaning of

this triumphant exclamation of faith is, I know that God is the Vindicator of the upright, and that he will yet justify me before I die. If there were space, we would examine particularly the remaining passages of this character with which erroneous conceptions are generally connected. The results of such an examination would show, first, that in nearly every case these passages are not accurately translated; secondly, that they may be satisfactorily interpreted as referring merely to this life, and cannot, by a sound exegesis, be explained otherwise; thirdly, that the meaning usually ascribed to them is inconsistent with the whole general tenor, and with numberless positive and most explicit statements, of the books in which they are found; fourthly, that if there are, as there seem to be in some of the Psalms, texts implying the ascent of souls after death to a heavenly life, — for example, “Thou shalt guide me with thy countenance, and afterward receive me to glory,” — they were the product of a late period, and reflect a faith not native to the Hebrews, but first known to them after their intercourse with the Persians.

Christians reject the allegorizing of the Jews, and yet traditionally accept, on their authority, doctrines which can be deduced from their Scriptures in no other way than by the absurd hypothesis of a double or mystic sense. For example, scores of Christian authors have taught the dogma of a general resurrection of the dead, deducing it from such passages as God’s sentence upon Adam, “From the dust wast thou taken, and unto the dust shalt thou return”; Joel’s patriotic picture of the Jews victorious in battle, and of the vanquished heathen gathered in the valley of Jehosaphat to witness their installation as rulers of the earth; and the declaration of the God of battles, “I am he that kills and that makes alive, that wounds and that heals”! And they maintain that the doctrine of immortality is inculcated in such texts as these: — when Moses asks to see God, and the reply is, “No man can see me and live”; when Bathsheba bows and says, “Let my lord, King David, live for ever”; and when the sacred poet praises God, saying, “Thou hast delivered my soul from death, mine eyes from tears, and my feet from falling”! Such interpretations of Scripture are as thoughtless and ignorant as

their context shows them to be absurd. The meaning is forced into the words, not derived from them.

Such as we have now seen were the ancient Hebrew ideas of the future state. To those who received them, the life to come was cheerless, offering no attraction save peace to the weary sufferer. On the other hand, it had no terror save the natural revulsion of the human heart from everlasting darkness, silence, and dreams. In view of deliverance from so dreary a fate, by translation, through Jesus Christ, to the splendors of the world above the firmament, there are many exultations in the Epistles of Paul, and in other portions of the New Testament.

The Hebrew views of the soul and its destiny, as discerned through the intimations of their Scriptures, are just about what, from a fair consideration of the case, we should suppose they would have been; agreeing, in the main, with the natural speculations of other early nations upon the same subject. These opinions underwent but little alteration until a century, or a century and a half, before the dawn of the Christian era. This is shown by the phraseology of the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch, and by the allusions in the so-called Apocryphal books. In these, so far as there are any relevant statements or implications, they are of the same character as those which we have explained from the more ancient writings. This is true, with the notable exceptions of the Wisdom of Solomon and the Second Maccabees, neither of which documents can be dated earlier than a hundred and twenty years before Christ. The former contains the doctrine of transmigration. The author says, "Being wise, I came into a body undefiled." * But with the exception of this and one other passage, there is little or nothing in the book which is definite on the subject of a future life. It is difficult to tell what the author's real faith was; his words seem more rhetorical than dogmatic. He says, "To be allied unto wisdom is immortality"; but other expressions would appear to show, that by immortality he means merely a deathless posthumous fame, — "leaving an eternal memorial of himself to all who shall come after him." Again, he declares, "The spirit when it is gone forth returneth not;

* Cap. viii. 20.

neither the soul received up cometh again." And here we find, too, the famous text, "God created man to be immortal, and made him to be an image of his own eternity. Nevertheless, through envy of the devil, came death into the world, and they that hold of his side do find it."* Upon the whole, it is pretty clear that the writer believed in a future life, but the details are too partially and obscurely shadowed to be drawn forth. We may, however, hazard a conjecture on the passage last quoted, especially with the help of the light cast upon it from its evident Persian origin. What is it, expressed by the term "death," which is found by the adherents of the Devil distinctively? "Death" cannot here be a metaphor for an inward state of sin and woe, because it is contrasted with the plainly literal phrases "created to be immortal," "an image of God's eternity." It cannot signify simply physical dissolution, because this is found as well by God's servants as by the Devil's. Its genuine meaning is, most probably, a descent into the black kingdom of sadness and silence under the earth, while the souls of the good were "received up."

The Second Book of Maccabees with emphasis repeatedly asserts future retribution and a bodily resurrection. In the seventh chapter a full account is given of seven brothers and their mother who suffered martyrdom firmly sustained by faith in a glorious reward for their heroic fidelity, to be reaped at the resurrection. One of them says to the tyrant by whose order he was tortured, "As for thee, thou shalt have no resurrection to life." Nicanor, bleeding from many horrible wounds, "plucked out his bowels and cast them upon the throng, and, calling upon the Lord of life and spirit to restore him those again" (at the day of resurrection), "he thus died."† Other passages in this book to the same effect it is needless to quote. The details lying latent in those we have quoted will soon be illuminated and filled out, when we come to treat of the opinions of the Pharisees. ‡

* Cap. ii. 23, 24.

† Cap. xiv. 46.

‡ See a very able discussion of the relation between the ideas concerning immortality, resurrection, judgment, and retribution, contained in the Old Testament Apocrypha, and those in the New Testament, by Frisch, inserted in Eichhorn's *Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Litteratur*, Band IV. Stück IV.

There lived in Alexandria a very learned Jew named Philo, the author of voluminous writings, a zealous Israelite, but deeply imbued both with the doctrines and the spirit of Plato. He was born about twenty years before Christ, and survived him about thirty years. The weight of his character, the force of his talents, the fascinating adaptation of his peculiar philosophical speculations, and of his bold and subtle allegorical expositions of Scripture, to the mind of his age and the succeeding centuries, together with the eminent literary position and renown early secured for him by a concurrence of causes, have combined to make him exert—according to the expressed convictions of the best judges, such as Lücke and Norton—a greater influence on the history of Christian opinions than any single man, with the exception of the Apostle Paul, since the days of Christ. It is important, and will be interesting, to see some explanation of his views on the subject of a future life. We have not space here to present a detailed exhibition of them, but must let a synopsis suffice.

Philo was a Platonic Alexandrian Jew, not a Zoroastrian Palestinian Pharisee. It was a current saying among the Christian Fathers, "*Vel Plato Philonizat, vel Philo Platonizat.*" He has little to say of the Messiah, nothing to say of the Messianic eschatology. We speak of him in this connection because he was a Jew, flourishing at the commencement of the Christian epoch, and contributing much, by his cabalistic interpretations, to lead Christians to imagine in the Old Testament the doctrine of a spiritual immortality connected with a system of rewards and punishments.

Three principal points include the substance of Philo's faith on the subject in hand. He rejected the notion of a resurrection of the body, and held to the natural immortality of the soul. He entertained the most profound and spiritual conceptions of the intrinsically deadly nature and wretched fruits of all sin, and of the self-contained welfare and self-rewarding results of every element of virtue,—in themselves, independent of time and place, and regardless of external bestowments of woe or joy. He also believed at the same time in contrasted localities above and below, appointed as the residences of the disembodied souls of good and of wicked men. We

will quote miscellaneous various passages from him in proof and illustration of these statements.

"Man's bodily form is made from the ground, the soul from no created thing, but from the Father of all; so that although man was mortal as to his body, he was immortal as to his mind."* "Complete virtue is the tree of immortal life."† "Vices and crimes, rushing in through the gate of sensual pleasure, changed a happy and immortal life for a wretched and mortal one."‡ Referring to the allegory of the Garden of Eden, he says, "The death threatened for eating the fruit was not natural, the separation of soul and body, but penal, the sinking of the soul in the body."§ "Death is twofold, one of man, one of the soul. The death of man is the separation of the soul from the body; the death of the soul is the corruption of virtue and the assumption of vice."|| "To me, death with the pious is preferable to life with the impious. For those so dying, deathless life delivers; but those so living, eternal death seizes."¶ He writes of three kinds of life, "one of which neither ascends nor cares to ascend, groping in the secret recesses of Hades, and rejoicing in the most lifeless life."** Commenting on the promise of the Lord to Abram, that he should be buried in a good old age, Philo observes that "A polished, purified soul does not die, but emigrates; it is of an inextinguishable and deathless race, and goes to heaven, escaping the dissolution and corruption which death seems to introduce."†† "A vile life is the true Hades, despicable and obnoxious to every sort of execration."‡‡ "Different regions are set apart for different things; heaven for the good, the confines of the earth for the bad."§§ He thinks the ladder seen by Jacob in his dream "is a figure of the air, which, reaching from earth to heaven, is the house of unembodied souls, the image of a populous city having for citizens immortal souls, some of whom descend into mortal bodies, but soon return aloft, calling the body a sepulchre from which they hasten, and, on light wings seeking the lofty

* Mangey's edition of Philo's Works, Vol. I. p. 32.

† Ibid., p. 38.

‡ Ibid., p. 65.

†† Ibid., p. 513.

§ Ibid., p. 37.

¶ Ibid., p. 233.

‡‡ Ibid., p. 527.

§ Ibid., p. 65.

** Ibid., p. 479.

§§ Ibid., p. 555.

ether, pass eternity in sublime contemplations.* "The wise inherit the Olympic and heavenly region to dwell in, always studying to go above; the bad, the innermost parts of Hades, always laboring to die."† He literally accredits the account, in the sixteenth chapter of Numbers, of the swallowing of Korah and his company, saying, "The earth opened and took them alive into Hades."‡ "Ignorant men regard death as the end of punishments, whereas in the Divine judgment it is scarcely the beginning of them."§ He describes the meritorious man as "fleeing to God and receiving the most intimate honor of a firm place in heaven, but the reprobate man is dragged below, down to the very lowest place, to Tartarus itself and profound darkness."|| "He who is not firmly held by evil, may by repentance return to virtue, as to the native land from which he has wandered. But he that suffers from incurable vice must endure its dire penalties, banished into the place of the impious, until the whole of eternity."¶

Such then was the substance of Philo's opinions on the theme before us, as indeed many more passages, which we have omitted as superfluous, might be cited from him to show. Man was made originally a mortal body and an immortal soul. He should have been happy and pure while in the body, and on leaving it have soared up to the realm of light and bliss on high, to have joined the angels. "Abraham, leaving his mortal part, was added to the people of God, enjoying immortality and made similar to the angels. For the angels are the army of God, bodiless and happy souls."** But through the power of evil, all who yield to sin and vice lose that estate of bright and blessed immortality, and become discordant, wretched, despicable, and, after the dissolution of the body, are thrust down to gloom and manifold just retribution in Hades. He believed in the pre-existence and in a limited transmigration of souls. Here he leaves the subject, saying nothing of a resurrection or final restoration, and not speculating as to any other of the details.††

* Ibid., pp. 641, 642.

§ Ibid., p. 419.

** Ibid., p. 164.

† Ibid., p. 643.

|| Ibid., p. 433.

‡ Ibid., Vol. II. p. 178.

¶ Ibid., Vol. I. p. 139.

†† See the *Analekten* of Keil and Tzschirner (Band I. Stück II.), an
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We pass on, next, to speak of the Jewish sects at the time of Christ. There were three of these, cardinally differing from each other in their theories of the future fate of man. First, there were the sceptical, materialistic Sadducees, wealthy, proud, few. They openly denied the existence of any disembodied souls, and boldly avowed that men utterly perished in the grave. "The cloud faileth and passeth away; so he that goeth down to the grave doth not return."* We read in the Acts of the Apostles: "The Sadducees say there is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit." At the same time, they accepted the Pentateuch, only rejecting or explaining away those portions of it which relate to the separate existence of souls, and to their subterranean abode. They strove to confound their opponents, the advocates of a future life, by such perplexing questions as they once addressed to Jesus, asking, in the case of a woman who had had seven successive husbands, which one of them should be her husband in the resurrection? All that we can gather concerning the Sadducees from the New Testament is amply confirmed by Josephus, who explicitly declares, "Their doctrine is that souls die with the bodies."

The second sect was the ascetical and philosophical Essenes, of whom the various information given by Philo in his celebrated paper on the Therapeutæ agrees with the account in Josephus, and with the scattered gleams in other sources. The doctrine of the Essenes on the subject of our present inquiry was very like that of Philo himself, and in some particulars remarkably resembles that of many Christians. They rejected the notion of the resurrection of the body, and maintained the inherent immortality of the soul. They said that "the souls of men, coming out of the most subtile and pure air, are bound up in their bodies as in so many prisons; but being freed at death, they do rejoice, and are borne aloft where a state of happy life for ever is decreed for the virtuous; but the vicious are assigned to eternal punishment in a dark, cold place."† Such sentiments appear to have inspired the heroic Eleazar, whose speech to his followers is reported by Josephus, when they were be-

article by Dr. Schreiter, entitled *Philo's Ideen über Unsterblichkeit, Auferstehung, und Vergeltung*.

* Lightfoot in Matt. xxii. 23.

† Josephus, *De Bell.*, Lib. II. cap. 8.

sieged at Masada, urging them to rush on the foe, "for death is better than life, is the only true life, leading the soul to infinite freedom and joy above." *

But by far the most numerous and powerful of the Jewish sects at that time and ever since, were the eclectic, traditional, formalist Pharisees: eclectic, inasmuch as their faith was formed by a partial combination of various systems; traditional, since they allowed a more imperative sway to the authority of the Fathers, and to oral legends and precepts, than to the plain letter of Scripture; formalist, for they neglected the weightier spiritual matters of the law in a scrupulous tithing of mint, cumin, and anise seed, a pretentious wearing of broad phylacteries, an uttering of long prayers in the streets, and the various other hypocritical priestly paraphernalia of a severe mechanical ritual.

From Josephus we learn that the Pharisees believed that the souls of the faithful, that is, of all who punctiliously observed the law of Moses and the traditions of the elders, would live again by transmigration into new bodies; but the souls of all others, on leaving their bodies, were doomed to a place of confinement beneath, where they must abide for ever. These are his words: "The Pharisees believe that souls have an immortal strength in them, and that in the under-world they will experience rewards or punishments according as they have lived well or ill in this life. The righteous shall have power to live again, but sinners shall be detained in an everlasting prison." † Again, he writes: "The Pharisees say that all souls are incorruptible, but that only the souls of good men are removed into other bodies." ‡ The fragment entitled "Concerning Hades," formerly attributed to Josephus, is now acknowledged on all sides to be a gross forgery. The Greek culture and philosophical tincture with which he was imbued led him to reject the doctrine of a bodily resurrection, and this is probably the reason why he makes no allusion to that doctrine in his account of the Pharisees. That such a doctrine was held among them is plain from passages in the New Testament, passages which also shed light upon

* De Bell., Lib. VII. cap. 8.

† De Bell., Lib. II. cap. 8.

‡ Antiq., Lib. XVIII. cap. 1.

the statement actually made by Josephus. Jesus says to Martha, "Thy brother shall rise again." She replies, "I know that he shall rise in the resurrection, at the last day." Some of the Pharisees, furthermore, did not confine the privilege or penalty of transmigration, and of the resurrection, to the righteous. They once asked Jesus, "Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?" Plainly he could not have been born blind for his own sins, unless he had known a previous life. Paul too says of them, in his speech at Cæsarea, "They themselves also allow that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and of the unjust." This, however, is very probably an exception to their prevailing belief. Their religious intolerance, theocratic pride, hereditary national vanity, and sectarian formalism, often led them to despise and overlook the Gentile world, haughtily restricting the boon of a renewed life to the legal children of Abraham.

But the grand source now open to us of knowledge concerning the prevailing opinions of the Jews on our present subject, at and subsequent to the time of Christ, is the Talmud. This is a collection of the traditions of the oral law (*Mischna*), with the copious precepts and comments (*Gemara*) of the most learned and authoritative Rabbins. It is a wonderful monument of myths and fancies, profound speculations and ridiculous puerilities, antique legends, and cabalistical subtleties, crowned and pregnant with the national peculiarities. The Jews reverence it extravagantly, saying, "The Bible is salt, the *Mischna* pepper, the *Gemara* balmy spice." Rabbi Solomon Ben Joseph sings, in our poet's version :

"The Kabbala and Talmud hoar,
Than all the Prophets prize I more;
For water is all Bible lore,
But *Mischna* is pure wine."

The rambling character and barbarous dialect of this work have joined with various other causes to withhold from it far too much of the attention of Christian critics. Saving by old Lightfoot and Pocock, scarcely a contribution has ever been offered us in English from this important field. The Germans have done far better, and numerous huge volumes, the costly fruits of their toils, are standing on neglected shelves. The eschatological

views derived from this source are authentically Jewish, however closely they may resemble some portion of the popular Christian conceptions upon the same subject. The correspondences between some Jewish and some Christian theological dogmas betoken the influx of an adulterated Judaism into a nascent Christianity, not the reflex of a pure Christianity upon a receptive Judaism. It is important to show this, and it appears from several considerations. In the first place, it is demonstrable, it is unquestioned, that at least the germs and outlines of the dogmas referred to were in actual existence among the Pharisees before the conflict between Christianity and Judaism arose. Secondly, in the Rabbinical writings these dogmas are most fundamental, vital, and pervading, in relation to the whole system; but in the Christian, they seem subordinate and incidental, have every appearance of being ingrafts, not outgrowths. Thirdly, in the Apostolic age Judaism was a consolidated, petrified system, defended from outward influence on all sides by an invulnerable bigotry, a haughty exclusiveness; while Christianity was in a young and vigorous, an assimilating and formative state. Fourthly, the overweening sectarian vanity and scorn of the Jews, despising, hating, and fearing the Christians, could not permit them to adopt peculiarities of belief from the latter; but the Christians were undeniably Jews in almost everything except in asserting the Messiahship of Jesus; they claimed to be the genuine Jews, children of the law and realizers of the promise. The Jewish dogmas therefore descended to them as a natural lineal inheritance. Finally, in the Acts of the Apostles, the letters of Paul, and the progress of the Ebionites, which sect included nearly all the Christians of the first century, we can trace step by step the actual workings in reliable history of the process that we affirm, namely, the assimilation of Jewish elements into the popular Christianity. We shall be obliged to recur to this point repeatedly hereafter. In our next number we shall pass to present, with such detail as is needful, the early Rabbinical doctrine of the last things.

W. R. A.

ART. II. — RELIGIOUS PROSPECTS OF GERMANY.

THE length to which our comments, in the last number of our journal, upon the Present Theological Reaction in Germany, were necessarily extended, compelled us to defer to this number a few remarks on the bearings of the present state of things upon the future. We proceed now to complete our task.

All who consider the present situation of the three great churches of Christendom, and who reflect that Northern Germany is now the main defence of Protestantism on the Continent, will find the question of exceeding interest, What are the prospects for the future? It would be folly to assume the mantle of prophecy, particularly in an age so critical as the present; and yet there are certain signs from which we can cast an augury. The reaction has not yet reached its acme, and the dark shadows cast by coming events betoken a darker future. In Prussia, we see Frederic William the Fourth, who only the last year renewed his declaration to uphold the Union, the guardianship of which he inherited with his crown, indirectly encouraging the enemies of the same, because they are better supporters of his throne. Books containing the severest attacks upon it are dedicated to him, and his own chosen minister of worship is one of the strictest Lutherans. The pastors and extraordinary professors sent by the latter even to Unionistic churches and universities are hostile to the Union, while the ordinary professors appointed by the king are its friends; so that his Majesty appears to be both for and against the Union, and his policy reminds us of the caricature that appeared of him in Saxony, which represented to the life his form and stature, with the head black, in his right hand an "Ordre," in his left a "Contre-Ordre," and above "Désordre"! In Hanover, the government of George the Fifth last year refused, on account of his political sympathies and actions in the year 1848, to confirm the nomination of Dr. Zachariä, Professor of Law, whom the Academic Senate had elected to be Prorector of the University at Göttingen, — the first instance of the kind for more than a century. At one of the Prussian Universities, a Pri-

vat-Docent, who failed in his first examination, has been appointed by the minister extraordinary professor, — notwithstanding the whole Faculty pronounced him unfit for the place, — because he had personal friends in the ministry, and his views were sufficiently orthodox and unscientific. Dorner and Rothe have both left Prussia for Göttingen and Heidelberg, the latter expressly assigning as his reason, that he no longer met with sympathy at Bonn. Brückner in Leipsic has become so Lutheran, that he is no longer able to continue the supervision of the new edition of De Wette's Handbook to the New Testament;* and the Lutheran Stier is regarded as so un-Lutheran by the New Lutherans, that they have asked the Consistory to admonish him, and, because of their refusal, have even arraigned them before the Upper Consistory. The superintendent of an insane asylum in Berlin has been complained of for not professing the Lutheran creed, as though that would better enable him to minister to minds diseased! Hengstenberg, who for nearly twenty years was a supporter of the Union, and who in 1847 declared that he should oppose all attempts to dissolve it, had threatened, that, if another non-Lutheran should be appointed professor at Halle, he would call on the province Saxony to cut loose from the University. Now that Professor Jacobi, a disciple of Neander, has been called to be Professor of History, we doubt if he will dare to execute his menace; at any rate, if he attempts it, he will be as little successful as in his former attack, twenty-five years ago, upon two Halle professors, when Ullmann published a pamphlet against him, and Neander publicly withdrew from his journal. The prospect is indeed sad for the Universities of Germany, as well as for its literature and its churches; for the old defenders of the Union and of liberal science are passing away, and very few coming forward who are worthy to succeed them. Professors' lectures, which were crowded in 1848, are now either deserted or attended mainly by foreigners, while those which were then considered insignificant are now in high repute. Verily, when we look back to the controversies of 1830, and see that the

* See Dr. Lucke's Preface to the Second Edition of De Wette's Commentary on the Apocalypse.

men who were then stigmatized as pietists are now denounced as rationalists, the revulsion seems even greater in the theological than it is in the political world, since Russia with all Europe then combined against France, whereas France with nearly all Europe is now in combination against Russia.

With reference to the Union, three classes of states are to be distinguished. In Baden, the Rhine Pfalz and Prussian province, Hesse, and Nassau, it is comparatively safe; in Bavaria, Saxony, and Mecklenburg, nearly every vestige of it has been eradicated; while in Prussia, Hanover, and Würtemberg, it prolongs a feeble and precarious existence. In Prussia, it has the most positive basis, and this kingdom has great influence upon the smaller states; but to understand its present condition there, it is necessary to recur to its previous history. Introduced by Frederic William the Third, on the 27th of September, 1817,—the third centennial anniversary of the Reformation,—in the belief that the differences of the two Confessions ought not to prevent communion fellowship, it ignored the heterogeneous, and combined the homogeneous elements of both, and gradually absorbed the two old churches, which after its adoption ceased to exist. It was manifest, however, that inasmuch as it professed to establish no third confession, it could continue only so long as it embraced the other two; and since it was formed by setting aside their differences, it would be dissolved as soon as they appeared. Yet, to appease the anti-Unionists, a cabinet order of the 28th of February, 1834, provided, that, as the Union introduced no new confession, it manifestly did not destroy the old ones; thus neutralizing the regulation by which the differences of the Confessions had been absolutely set aside. At the General Synod in 1846, Dr. Stahl opposed the efforts to make the Union consist in unity of doctrines as well as of church government, insisting that the latter should represent the differences of the churches, and that the former were useless, except as they were formularized in the creed. This view was at last sanctioned by the edict of the 6th of March, 1852, which prescribed that the Upper Consistory should be composed of members of both Confessions. By this *itio in partes* the Union was practically dissolved, since these

members sought the interests of their own churches, and voted according to their peculiar creed, while the Union was represented only by Dr. Nitzsch. The edict naturally excited great alarm among the Unionists; for instead of ignoring, it laid stress upon the differences of the Confessions, which were thus declared to be not indifferent, the Union was represented as a third confession, unity of government and worship was destroyed, it became doubtful who should be the president of the Consistory, and it was evident that, as soon as the increasing Lutheran party should obtain the majority, separate governments would be followed by separate communions. Accordingly, on the 18th of July, 1852, the Theological Faculty in Halle, foreseeing that the Union, being now only tolerated, might easily be suppressed, and that the same demands might be made on them as have since been urged upon the Faculty of Göttingen, presented a memorial, or remonstrance, to the Minister of Worship. In this they say: "It is not to be doubted that the Theological Faculties of Prussia must be instantly affected in their existence and position by the further progress of the tendency which this edict introduces. For the consequence will be, that the demand will be made of its members to adopt a narrow confessional character, and, if this is not to be a mere name, to teach a specific Lutheran or Reformed theology. This demand, no Faculty, which is conscious of its position and duties, can truly fulfil, upon the present stand-point of theology. But especially is this Faculty conscious, in view of its own history, that herein would be involved for it an apostasy from the principles of its origin." The Faculty declared that this was a vital question for it, it asked only for justice to the Union, described the evils to the Church which must otherwise ensue, and said that "such a prevailing tendency to restore the confessional orthodoxy can only be attended by the most disastrous consequences."

Thus it appears that the deepest wounds which the Union has received have been inflicted on it by its royal friends, in the hope thereby of conciliating its enemies. The concessions, however, which were granted, have only led to more arrogant demands. Having secured that each church be represented separately in the government, the Lutherans are now endeavoring to exclude the rep-

representatives of the Union; they will next declare the differences of the Confessions to be fundamental, and will then renounce communion fellowship with the Reformed. Already they repudiate the Unionistic societies for home and foreign missions, call for separate senates in the several church governments, write books which remodel the first part of the "Agende," and demand that the Consistory shall favor those churches which were originally Lutheran. Having ensnared the preachers, they now seek to entrap the teachers, that the young may be trained up in the Lutheran Confession. Their ministers seem confidently to expect the coming of the Messiah in their Lutheran kingdom; they preach to the people, "Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom," and their congregations sing,

"Gottes Wort ist Luther's Lehr,
Darum vergeht sie nimmermehr,
Sollt' es auch verdriessen noch so sehr
Den Teufel und sein ganzes Heer."

As the prospects of the Lutherans brighten, those of the Reformed, on the contrary, darken. In the province Saxony, the Consistory has attempted to place all their churches under one superintendent, which would thus eject them from the Union, and degrade them to a sect. In Hesse Darmstadt, they complain of the loss of funds, academies, and schools, and at the Kirchentag in Frankfurt an association was formed for the protection of their interests, though Krummacher declared that it would be impossible to revive the Reformed Church, unless it became Lutheran.

Most auspicious, however, appears the future for Catholicism. Lutheranism is playing directly into its hands,* and, indeed, there is little choice between many of their doctrines; for who will say that it is more unreasonable to believe in the immaculate birth from a virgin mother, than in the ubiquity of a human body? Conversions to Romanism are daily taking place; Jesuit missionaries are

* The People's Paper for City and Country of the 3d of February, 1855, contains a sermon by Dr. Sartorius "on the Holy Virgin Mary," which it says may supply the place of "one of our now forgotten, yet genuine Lutheran-Evangelical festivals of Mary."

making a crusade through Germany; the Pope, once thought so liberal, now makes pretensions unprecedented since the times of Gregory the Seventh, Innocent the Third, and Boniface the Eighth; in Baden the government has yielded the main point of dispute, the appointment of pastors; and while the Evangelical students of theology decline, the Catholic students increase.* In the midst of this agitation stands the Union. It no longer makes any converts, its Kirchentag is beginning to lose the significance which it once possessed; but while the contending parties are standing opposed to each other under arms, it serves at least to keep the peace. Were perfect religious liberty allowed, there would be as many sects in this country as in our own, for the germs of all of them lie latent in the Church; nay, the mutual enmity would be greater, and might even lead to a war of extermination. At present, the Union prevents open acts of violence. It is like the cave of the winds, in which the most turbulent forces are held in check.

"Luctantes ventos, tempestatesque sonoras
Imperio premit, ac vinctis et carcere frenat.
Illi indignantes, magno cum murmure montis
Circa claustra fremunt. Celsa sedet Æolus arce
Sceptra tenens; molliorque animos et temperat iras.
*Ni faciat, maria ac terras cælumque profundum
Quippe ferant rapidi secum, verrantque per auras.*"

There is indeed great need of renovation in the Church, but it is not to be accomplished by reviving extinct dogmas and ecclesiastical laws, and restoring the authority of the office. On the contrary, the bitter strifes about the doctrines of religion only alienate the interest of the people from religion, and the increase of the legal penalties to force upon the people the dogmas of the Church, only estranges them still more.† In the Protestant Church, therefore, there is no bow of promise to be seen;

* In the province Westphalia, 268 examinations were passed by pupils during the past year, of whom 4 were Jews, 35 Evangelicals, and 230 Catholics; while only 8 devote themselves to the study of Protestant theology, 127 are preparing for the Catholic Church at the seminaries for the priests in Münster, Paderborn, and Trier, and at the Universities of Freiburg, Würzburg, and Munich.

† In West Prussia great sensation has been excited by an order of the magistrates requiring young people of the Evangelical Confession, even after their confirmation, to attend the Sunday catechisations till their twentieth year, and threatening their delinquency with a fine.

on the contrary, the clouds are full of rain, and nothing seems to prevent a flood of Lutheranism from returning again to cover the land.

But while this is the cheerless prospect for the more immediate future, we cannot believe that it will be of long continuance. The stream of history has run too fast, — six years having sufficed to constitute a period, — systems of philosophy and theology have followed one another too rapidly, for us to think that now the *δὲς μοι ποῦ στῆ* has been discovered. *Nondum meridies* rather, we must say, best designates the character of these times. As the extreme radicalism contributed to the enthronement of absolutism, so the reaction is paving the way for revolution. The measures of reform which were granted in the year 1848 have nearly all been abrogated, and many think that the present condition of the Church under Kaumer is worse than it was under Eichhorn in 1847. The real safety of the state cannot be made to rest secure upon blind authoritative faith. They only are truly conservative who are tolerant and just; the intolerant and exclusive only destroy what they fancy they establish. This is now admitted by many of the conservatives, as well as by the progressives. Thiersch, in a voice of warning, says: "All just demands of the lower classes are put off, till the evil ripens to an outbreak, and a day of terror comes, when communism with the weapons of injustice will extort what justice long ago should have secured. In the consternation of the year 1848, the strong conceded to the laborers a portion of their rights; but with the consternation have disappeared also the concessions, and the burden of accountability is swelling from week to week for another day of reckoning." Professor Schaff, from Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, whose lectures upon America have contributed much to remove the ignorance and prejudice of his former fellow-countrymen, told the deputies at Frankfort, "Europe rests upon a volcano, which at any moment can break forth in an eruption, and no bayonets and no statesmanship can insure the future even for two years." One of the Tory papers exhorts the loyal societies to continue their organizations; "for who knows how near the time is when these associations will have to range themselves together to resist the irrational ideas and demands of the other

parties?" An eminent professor and historian of philosophy, after praising the custom of the Roman youths to commit to memory the laws of the Ten Tables, remarked, that this could not be recommended in regard to the Prussian constitution, a new edition of which might be expected every six weeks. Political and religious interests are so indissolubly intertwined, — and the king by a cabinet order of the 13th of June, 1853, declared his opposition to the emancipation of the Church from the State, — that the one cannot be thoroughly reformed without the other. On the other hand, a subversion of the government would necessarily affect the existence of the Church, and the alterations of the constitution which are made every year by the royalists, and the increasing claims which are daily preferred by the Lutherans, are surely hastening the catastrophe.* But independent of any violent agitations, the finesse and jesuitism of these reactionists — as by their strenuous efforts they seem to be aware — are limited to the reign of the present king. The Prince of Prussia and his son are liberal-minded, resolute men, determined to uphold the Union in the sense originally intended by its founder; and the fact that they are both Freemasons alone shows how little favor the orthodox assailants of this order can expect at court. A change of sovereignty will doubtless be attended by a change of ministry, and this will be followed by the appointment of new professors at the Universities, and new members of the Consistories, who will in turn elect new pastors and superintendents; and thus the theological character of the teaching and preaching in the school, the university, and the Church will gradually be transformed, and the liberal party regain the influence in the Union which they have lost.

But even if we had no such well-grounded expectations, we might from the very nature of this movement infer its fate. A faction which, in defiance of the law of

* On the 31st of January the Commissarius of the government, Scheere, said in the Second Chambers, that lectures for public instruction could be given only by permission. Vincke replied, that then the lectures of the professors at the universities would be under the inspection of the police. Malinckrodt, however, rejoined, "An unlimited right to deliver lectures does not exist, and it is therefore left to the police arbitrarily to decide."

history, endeavors to restore ideas and systems which have been long since outgrown, is inevitably doomed to defeat and dissolution. This anti-Protestant cabal can have no future, as it has severed its connection with the present and the past, and it needs only to develop its hierarchical schemes to accomplish its own destruction. Protestantism is identified with no ecclesiastical institution, and is not destroyed when it is driven from the Church; it is a principle and a power pervading all the spheres of life, and it must be put down at all points, in order to be annihilated. Rationalism was the result of the Lutheran controversial theology of a former day, and the strictest orthodoxy once had its seat in Tübingen. The ecclesiastico-political assumptions of these pastors will only cause their own subordination, as was the case at Bremen, where the city was obliged to fight so long with the bishop for its independence, that at the Reformation the clergy were deprived of all official rights, and placed even after the elders. So formerly the Elector August in Freiburg issued an edict against Flaccius and his followers, upon which the former was represented by a symbolical figure of Ambition, and the latter were complimented by the motto, *Die Flaccianer und Zeloten sind des Teufels Vorboten*. Yet, as in the political world it is a comparatively small, but very active party, that advocates Russian interests, while the people have no sympathy with barbarism, so in the Church the laity are little affected by the intrigues of the priests; and even if the Lutherans were not divided among themselves, Puseyism would probably be here even more transient than in England. Neither do we believe that the Dark Ages are again to settle over Europe, though the mediæval spirit still rules at the Vatican, and the Roman Church has shown that she has learned nothing and forgotten nothing, in reviving the dogma respecting "the Queen of Heaven, the bride of the Father, and the mother of the Son." Deprived of their freedom in Church and State, the Germans will not suffer freedom of inquiry, their only palladium, to be stolen from them. Already the ablest men are combining to resist the hordes of dolts and bigots which are rapidly increasing, and the Protestant Church Gazette, in addition to its former talented contributors, announces the

co-operation for the coming year of Ewald, Gervinus, Jacob Grimm, Häusser, Schlosser, Schubert, Zachariä, Albrecht, Braniss, and J. H. Fichte. Science cannot be so easily strangled; it is here no longer an infant in the cradle, it is an Antæus, and every time it is struck to the earth it rises with new power. As well might it be attempted to re-establish Puritanism in New England, as to resuscitate at this day Lutheranism's dead dogmas and rotten institutions. The time must come, when the statues of the eminent theologians whom the modern iconoclasts have cast from their pedestals will be re-consecrated and replaced in the temple of science,—the history of Germany guarantees it.

Orthodoxy in Germany, as is well known, is a very different thing from what it is in England and America. Hengstenberg concedes that the citation and application of a passage in the New Testament does not necessarily determine its interpretation in the Old; Dorner defends Lücke's doctrine of the Trinity, by saying that it is held by many Lutheran theologians; Baur rejoices that his opinions upon the Gospel of John have been adopted and reproduced by so orthodox a commentator as Luthardt;* and none of the strictest Lutherans had any scruples against celebrating on Sunday the king's birthday with orations, processions, and similar festivities.† The followers of Schleiermacher have thoroughly refuted the views of inspiration,‡ predestination, depravity, the Trin-

* See the Tübingen "Theologische Jahrbücher" for 1854, Heft II. pp. 196-288.

† See Neander's article on the Christian observance of Sunday in the "German Periodical for Christian Science," Nos. 26, 28, for 1850.—The following announcement of a political meeting was issued some time since by the reactionary party in State and Church: "The anniversary of the Prussian Association will be celebrated this year in the usual manner, on Sunday afternoon, on the Kellerberg in the Haide. As, however, §§ 11 and 12 of the law of the royal government respecting the observance of Sunday do not permit the marching at the customary time, the members of the Association are requested to make their arrangements so that the procession may start from the Saltworks at 3½ o'clock, immediately after the close of the afternoon service."

‡ See the articles on Inspiration by Dr. Tholuck, who was once a believer in the verbal theory, in the "German Periodical," Nos. 16-18 and 42-44, for 1850, and Stier's reply in No. 21, for 1851. Dr. Hase says, in the Protestant Church Gazette, No. 44, for 1854: "I well remember how once the pious Steudel, who belonged to the old Tübingen school, said to me, that he wished the accounts of the casting out of demons were not in the Bible, but since they were there, we must believe them; when he

ity, the two natures of Christ, and the atonement, which were once considered orthodox ; and the old system, being deprived completely of a scientific basis, can now retain its influence only by appealing, like the Church of Rome, to the authority of its tradition. The Union theologians, by rejecting the *Formula Concordiæ*, as a symbolical book, modifying the stern views of Calvin by the milder ones of Luther,* and blending the results of the Swiss and Saxon reformation, have so greatly altered the old standard of faith, that it is questionable if some of its most eminent representatives could obtain a license to preach from the most liberal association of the same faith in New England. Julius Müller declares that the Union "has let many ideas fall which stood in the dogmatic dictionary of the old Protestant theology, and has adopted into its own a multitude of new ones." Kahnis, referring to Liebner's Christology, says : "Dorner, Rothe, Lange, and others, saw in Christ the ideal man, in whom the species of humanity had been impersonated, the personal recapitulation of the race, the generic man ; the ideal man was derived from Schleiermacher, the generic man was a product of speculation."† The sophism is here never heard, that Jesus was ignorant of anything in

wrote his system of divinity, however, he believed in them no longer. How carefully did Neander seek in his Life of Christ to reconcile all differences in the Gospel narratives, and to make every improbable fact probable ; and yet how often did his conscientiousness compel him to admit the want of harmony and slight inaccuracies in the different accounts ! A talented theologian, like Tholuck, who is recognized among the representatives of the newly kindled religious spirit, has reduced the Holy Ghost, who dictated the Holy Scriptures and collected them in the canon, to a religious tact, which led the Apostles to retain only those elements of their education and their age that did not pervert the Christian truth, (which they themselves possessed only in an imperfect form,) and to allow all else to be subordinate or to fall altogether ; and this same religious tact guided the Church, amidst all the contingencies of making this collection, in regard to what it admitted and what it excluded."

* "Calvin was devoid of that element of positive and intuitive religious consciousness. His mind was throughout a reflective and a political one. Speculating one-sidedly and conventionally, although with Romanic acuteness and French neatness, on the Divine foreknowledge, he produced a system in which the impartial philosopher can only see the distortion of a reflecting mind of the deepest ethical earnestness, but overpowered by the logical consequence of divine necessity, and untouched in this reflection by the central thought of Christianity, eternal love."—Bunsen, in "Hippolytus."

† In the "Innere Gang des deutschen Protestantismus seit Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts," (Leipzig, 1854,) page 209.

his human nature which he fully knew in his divine ; but it is maintained that he had only one divine-human nature, and (according to Mark xiii. 32) was not omniscient. Stier asks, in Thesis 153 : " Did even Paul, Peter, and John teach the same doctrine in that sense in which it is now taken, to say nothing of James ? Has not John already converted ' the Christ for us into the Christ in us ' ? " Dr. Sack warmly exclaims : " What ! I shall say and sing of God, of God himself, that he has died, is dead ? I shall no more think, by the great name ' God himself,' upon Him ' who alone has immortality, the Eternal, of whose years there is no end ' ? I shall refuse, perhaps, to raise myself through Jesus Christ to the Father, and to Him ascribe with holy reverence eternal perfection of light and life ? No ; if I should really begin to like expressions of this character, I must fear that I no longer practised myself sufficiently in the pure knowledge and right distinction of the Father and the Son. And this must be the more carefully practised, because there is in our times a dangerous inclination to monophysitism, to forget the humanity of Christ by following feeling and fancy, and to overlook the entire contents of revelation and the Gospel ; from which the whole work of redemption, instead of being regarded as the act and suffering of him who is the true historical man, would come more and more into the danger of losing for us its revealed clearness and its practical power." *

The conviction of the necessity of rejecting the old system is universally accompanied by a feeling of the need of a further development of the new. The former has been expressed by no one more strongly than by Chevalier Bunsen, who maintains, that " the letter of the creeds does not agree either with Scripture or with the consciousness of the ancient Church ; such at least has been the judgment of the most learned and philosophical inquirers, and this judgment is confirmed by the lameness of the arguments brought forward on the other side. Neither can that system stand unreformed which was at first provisionally established by the Reformers, and then reduced to a stereotyped doctrinal system by the orthodox divines of the seventeenth century. For it is less

* In the German Periodical for Christian Science, 1855, No. 4.

true in its positive than in its negative part. It does not express, much less develop, the apostolic idea of the Christian self-sacrifice as the real sacrifice of thanksgiving in the spirit of Christ; and it moves against its will, within the very magic circle of mediæval confusion and scholastic fiction, which the Reformation strove to break." He adds, that these fictions prove inefficacious and insufficient, and do not satisfy the public conscience, and that those who deny this fact show as much ignorance of the state of the world as of the nature of Christianity. The necessity of modifying the old Church views was admitted even by Calvin, who, at the time of the controversy with Caroli, urged a revision of the doctrine of the Trinity. He wished to remove the words "persona" and "Trinitas" as belonging properly to the schools, and he would not be bound by the Athanasian Creed, because it did not ascribe full deity to the Son, since it derived him from the Father, who, in thus having the "ascitas," is made superior to him, and is also identified with the Godhead. Notwithstanding theological science has in no country been carried farther than in Germany, nowhere is the need so generally felt of a yet further development. Stier argues, from the controversies still existing among Evangelical believers, that the Christian doctrine was not finally settled by the Reformers. "Our theology, which has since arisen and to-day is in vigorous progress, undeniably reveals that much still needs, not only to be developed, but also to be corrected; as, for example, the Trinity, incarnation, humiliation, at the outset, and then man's freedom and God's decrees, as well as the entire doctrine of the Church, office, form of government, the prophetic theology and eschatology." He declares that the confessions have been outlived as a tradition, and that something new must be constructed in the department of the Church, as in the other spheres,—an opinion which has been expressed by almost every eminent German theologian. "The old creed," says Stier, "stalks about like a ghost. As paper, law, obligation, self-elected orthodoxy, it can neither hinder infidelity, as is manifest, nor sustain and constantly rekindle vital faith; for this end, the Spirit creates from time to time new ways, means, forms, and ordinances. The so-called pure doctrine can only so long convert, illuminate,

and sanctify souls, as its idea continues modestly to correspond with what is called sound doctrine by the Apostles; the strict, pointed orthodoxy has at no time done this, and can never do it."

It will not have passed unobserved, that the war of creeds which is now going on in Germany, particularly so far as it involves the professors at the universities, presents many analogies to that which has been waged by the New-School Presbyterians and Congregationalists of our own country. But, while this controversy will probably not pass unheeded at Andover and New Haven, it may well attract attention at Cambridge. We, too, have a crisis in our denomination, which has arisen, not from the want of a freedom of science, but rather from the want of any science at all. The Evangelical Church of Germany is well aware that it cannot withstand the attacks of Catholicism on the one side, and of pantheism on the other, without a free scientific theology. But we, who reject doctrines which are held in common by all the rest of the Christian world, who declare that

"Lutheran, Popish, Calvinistic, all these creeds and doctrines three
Extant are, but still the doubt is where Christianity may be,"*

can not only point to no comprehensive and systematic exposition of all the articles of our positive belief, which is worthy to be compared with the Scotch and German systems of divinity, but the most important professorship at our chief institution—the chair of dogmatic theology—yet remains unfilled! With means adequate to establish and to support a new theological seminary, which shall be endowed pecuniarily and intellectually as richly as any, we are not ashamed that the Divinity School connected with the first university in the country should possess but two professors, and the whole number of its students be less than that of a single class at Princeton or Andover! With ability in the denomination which has proved secondary in no one of the fields of literary endeavor, we are obliged to refer inquirers, who ask for a complete and thorough vindication of our distinctive views, to lectures, reviews, sermons, and tracts! Where

* Or, as it stands in the original of Lessing:

"Luthrisch, Pabstisch, und Calvinisch, diese Glauben alle drey
Sind vorhanden; doch ist Zweifel wo das Christenthum denn sey?"

are our scientific commentaries or extended works on dogmatics, to say nothing of the other departments of theology, and who of our theologians can be compared even with the old Socinians, with Schlichting, Socinus, Wollzogen, or Crell? But can it be that we shall fail to reap — are we not already reaping — the fruits of this suicidal policy? Other sects are building their “Western Reserve” colleges, but let us take care at least to maintain our own, and if new professorships cannot be founded in our schools, why should not tutors be appointed, corresponding to those in the college, and to the Privat-Doctents of Germany. Without a theological science, without even a worthy theological school, how can we be more crippled?*

We do not overlook the great work which has been already accomplished, and to which the present state of New England theology bears witness; nor that the lack of interest in theology is confined to us, since the *Bibliotheca Sacra* has been transformed from a strictly scientific journal to an *Andover Review*; nor do we suppose that American clergymen can be expected to rival German theologians, who enter upon their academic career as soon as they have been graduated at the university. Neither have we any anxiety as to the future prospects of a cause, which Dr. Edward Beecher says was produced by “the influence of an important part of the truth of God,” which was “a providential protest in favor of the great principles of honor and right,” and one of the chief doctrines of which is based upon an argument “that has in it a principle of vitality which cannot be destroyed”; — a cause with regard to which Schrödl remarks, “If Unitarianism as a sect has almost disappeared, yet since the eighteenth century it has been all the more diffused as an opinion among Protestants,” and for which Ernst Renan predicts so glorious a fu-

* When American sects are enumerated here, the Unitarians are seldom mentioned, as they are so few. As an indication how little is known of Unitarianism in Germany, it may be mentioned that, having been frequently asked by Professors for Unitarian books, the writer inquired for such at the rich library in Göttingen, and received a few deistical books and Tom Paine! The American Unitarian Association could not better advance their cause, than by sending a copy of the works of our principal writers to each of the German universities.

ture.* But Unitarianism has not now the mission which it discharged in the first period of its history. Very many of the obnoxious views of the old system have been so greatly modified, that the arguments once brought against them at present no longer tell. On the other hand, new critical questions have arisen from a school, who, affirming that the Church doctrines are taught in the New Testament, (as, for example, the incarnation of the Logos in the Prologue to John, and the doctrine of the atonement in the letters of Paul,) press upon Unitarians the alternative, either to accept the teachings of these men, if they admit their inspiration, or to place the writings which contain them in a later age. If these things are so, it is evident that what is absolutely essential to the existence of the denomination is, not the manufacture of a creed, but the encouragement of a free, scientific theology. We can live well enough without a confession, — which in the present state of science it would be unwise to make for ourselves, and unjust to impose upon others, — but we cannot exist without an exegetical, dogmatical, critical theology, which at this day it is utterly impossible to obtain, without a knowledge of German investigations. It is in vain to think that any one who can read the Scriptures in the original will be content with Latin commentaries or with English translations; and therefore, since the stream has not been brought to our doors, we are compelled to draw from the fountain-head. Shall we then deprive ourselves of the profit to be gained from the study of the writings of Gesenius, Ewald, Hupfeld, Rödiger, Hitzig, and Knobel on the Old Testament, and of those of Hase,

* In an article in the "Revue des Deux Mondes" (Tom. XI. pp. 1085-1107, for 1854,) upon "Channing et le Mouvement Unitaire aux Etats-Unis," occasioned by an edition of his "*Ceuvres Sociales*" which has been published with an introduction by M. E. Laboulaye, Member of the Institute, Renan says: "Il resta fidèle à l'Amérique. Là, en effet, ses idées nous semblent avoir un immense avenir. Les États-Unis sont peut-être destinés à réaliser pour la première fois aux yeux du monde une religion éclairée, purement individuelle, faisant d'honnêtes gens, et tout à fait exempte de prétentions métaphysiques. Le nom de Channing s'attachera sans doute à cette fondation, non comme celui d'un chef de secte (il aurait été le premier à repousser cet honneur), mais comme celui d'un des hommes en qui l'esprit nouveau arriva d'abord à une complète et attrayante expression." This article has attracted attention also in Germany, and has been translated in the Berlin "*Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes*," Nos. 25-27 (Feb. 27 - March 3), 1855.

Meyer, Credner, Winer, Wahl, Rückert, and Fritzsche on the New? These have been called German Unitarians; but it is a significant fact, that neither they, nor the rationalists, like Bretschneider and Röhr, ever renounced, as we have done, the Church formulas of the Trinity. The later writings of De Wette and Lücke, Tholuck and Bunsen, also merit the special attention of Unitarians. But particularly it is Schleiermacher who deserves our most careful study,—whose sermons were edited by the translator of Channing,—and whose services in theology are as little known among us, as those of Lessing in criticism and of Kant in philosophy. Yet even Kahnis professes to have studied him for twenty years, and says: "I also must confess that, in multitude of gifts, in mastery in science, in influence upon all the departments of theology, no theologian of modern times is to be compared with him. We may compare him, as Erdmann has just done, with Socrates; we may call him the Origin of the present Church; in short, he was a man whom no theologian ignores unpunished";—though, to be sure, he adds, "among the positive articles of the Augsburg Confession, I know not one from which he did not differ." *Credo ut intelligam* was the principle he professed, which is equally removed from an ignorant faith and from a scientific unbelief.

When Evangelical theologians in Germany, in England, and in our own community, admit the need of a more accurate precision as to the doctrines of Christianity, shall we, because we have done nothing, therefore say there is nothing to do? Have we as yet given full significance to the baptismal formula and the apostolic benediction? Denying the deity and also the mere humanity of Christ, do we not need to give a more definite answer to the question, "But whom say ye that I am?" In rejecting the authority of the old creeds, have we not perhaps rejected doctrines which should be examined independently, by themselves? If, then, there is still much to be done in doctrinal theology, in the department of Biblical criticism there is yet more. Here especially is there need of more study and greater freedom. The canon arose gradually, and was certainly the work of men; and the principles of Protestantism require that it should be examined, honestly and impartially, without

fear of the results. In the Roman Church, indeed, to doubt the genuineness of a book in the Bible or the Apocrypha, is equivalent to being an apostate from the faith; and Protestants who think likewise must not raise the question whether Balaam's ass spoke, but can only inquire what language it used. How many take the credibility of the books simply on the authority of others! whereas neither this nor their inspiration can be established, until the question of their authorship has been settled. Verbal inspiration is utterly useless, when criticism must first determine the correct reading of the text. And does not Eusebius tell us that, even in the fourth century, seven books, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, James, Jude, Hebrews, and Revelation, were not regarded universally as canonical? Did not Luther reject the apostolic origin and canonicity of Hebrews, James, Jude, and Revelation, and in his editions of the Bible, until the middle of the seventeenth century, were not these books printed without numbers, and placed as "deutero-canonical" after the others? Does he not commence his Introduction to them with the words, "Before, we have had the really certain main books of the New Testament; these four following, however, have had in former times a different authority"? If we fear the consequences of criticism, and wish to stop its "agitation," we must go back to the tradition of the Romanists and the statements of the Jews, and take refuge in an *asylum ignorantie*. Even the Romanist commentator, Movers, maintains that the accounts of the books of Samuel have been altered in the Chronicles, partly by oral tradition, and partly by the author's different point of view. When even an esteemed Evangelical theologian, who has been celebrated as the opponent of rationalism both in and out of Germany, is compelled by historical evidence to put the book of Genesis (as does Bleek) in the time of the Kings, Deuteronomy in the time of Jeremiah, and to declare that the genuineness of many of the Psalms, the second part of Isaiah, and the book of Daniel, is very doubtful,—though Ewald, De Wette, and the critics upon the Old Testament go much farther,—when Schleiermacher denies the apostolic authorship of the First Epistle to Timothy, Lücke that of the Apocalypse, and all admit that the dissertation commonly called the Letter

to the Hebrews is not from Paul, we ought well to hesitate before condemning without investigation results which do not happen to agree with our preconceived notions, and should gain from this new stimulus to "search the Scriptures" and to "prove all things," convinced that, however much the opinions of the Church may be affected thereby, the doctrines of Christianity will come forth from the furnace of criticism purged of their dross and purified.

And where can the studies into the primitive state of Christianity and the apostolic age be better prosecuted than in our own country, where there is no state church and no binding traditions, no kings by the grace of God or creeds by the authority of Calvin and Luther, — where there is (or should be) perfect freedom of religion and conscience, — where every people of the Old World have been represented in a congress of nations to develop a new national character, and all creeds have been mingled to form a new confession? The churches of the New World are no mere reproductions of the churches of the Old, but each has been modified, by its contact with the others, and none more so than the Church of Rome, whose pictures wink, and the coagulated blood of whose dead martyrs liquefies, only on that side of the ocean, where the holy coat also is preserved, and the Virgin still deigns to visit the faithful. It has been said that out of the "Sectenchaos" of our land will one day go forth a "Kirchen-cosmos," and it is not improbable that, as the religions of the Old World have been modelled after the faith of Peter and Paul, it may be ours to realize the higher Christianity of John. And shall we not labor on this "neuen Bau" of the Church? It is an humble, but not altogether insignificant, part which has been assigned to us. God grant that we may be faithful to it, that the time may come, which has been predicted by the prophet Zachariah, when "the Lord shall be King over all the earth; in that day shall there be one Lord and his name one," and the Saviour's prayer to his Father may be fulfilled, "that they may know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent."

E. J. Y.

ART. III. — THE AMERICAN CHURCH.*

THERE are three institutions which have been universal among men, and which may be called necessities of man's condition on earth. They are the Family, the State, and the Church. The first meets his wants as a being of affection, the second as a subject of law, and the last as endowed with a spiritual and immortal nature. These essential institutions exist of course under all kinds of modification, according to the degree of culture and the stage of development prevalent in each nation or age. And in some cases the Family has lapsed almost into promiscuous license, the State into anarchy, and the only remnant of the Church has been the lowest form of idolatry or Fetichism. But nowhere have these several outshoots of human nature failed entirely. While man is man they must exist, and in proportion to his refinement, humanity, and faith they must rise towards perfection.

In America, thus far in its history, the State is the institution which has attracted most interest. Wars have been waged, constitutions framed, and unceasing agitation pursued to organize the social and political relations of the people on the basis of law. Liberty has been a louder word than holiness or love. The Family and the Church have both had to bend before the mightier power of the State. Napoleon once said, "I am a political being," and we, as Americans, have been in that category; we are political beings.

But it requires no gift of prescience to foresee that when we get our wildernesses cleared, our ships and railroads built, our families founded, and our laws and politics settled, the chief question for our country will be, What shall be its religion, its church? Its faith, after all, more than its constitutions and congresses, will decide whether we shall be a great and glorious people, in the best acceptation of those terms, or only of the mock-heroic style.

Many, perhaps most, esteem the leading question to

* REV. DR. BAIRD'S *Report of Religion in America, made to the Evangelical Alliance in Paris, France, August, 1855.*

be, What is the government, or even the administration, what is the education, or, it may be, what is the commerce, or manufactures, or agriculture of the passing hour? They assign an exaggerated importance to these points, and look to see the rule or ruin of America hang upon their decision. But, as has been said on another occasion, behind the throne is a mightier power than the throne itself. Temporary interests cannot hope to compete with everlasting truths. Nor can the manifestations of the intellectual, social, or political life, its art, science, literature, or laws, prevail against the more profound question of its faith. The soul wakes up but slowly, but *it* is the deep and silent world of causes, while *they* are the fluctuating phenomena which belong to the world of effects.

The transcendent importance of the question of religion and the Church, as it respects the destiny of America, is revealed by the experience of history. It was their faith in the invisible, far more than anything won in the kingdoms of art, science, or politics, that stamped Egypt, Greece, and Rome, and made them what they were. For the worship of a people settles their manners, morals, laws, destiny. Other things come in as powerful modifications or reactions, but the fundamental basis of all life, either individual or associated, is the idea of God. Mind must gravitate towards its Creator, and all that man is or does be governed first or last by the sentiment of duty. Plato long ago said the whole truth upon the subject, when he declared, "Men become like the God they adore."

It is sufficiently evident, that thus far the Church in America has been more an imported article than a native production. We have been ruled by ideas from across the water. Old-Worldism, driven from its retreats in the State, and obliged to yield to the overpowering weight of republicanism, has seized hold of the skirts of the Church with all the more tenacity. The maxim in Europe was, No king, no bishop; but we have dropped the king and let the bishop stand. The motto of our State, however poorly we live it out, is, All free, all equal before the law, the greatest good of the greatest number; but the Church, false to the New-World ideas, still leans to a hierarchy, trusts in principalities and powers, adopts but

partially representative forms in its administration, holds on to an aristocracy of the elect in spirituals, when it can no longer grasp the fond idea in temporals, and thunders with its harmless and unterrifying bulls over the emancipated millions that have come out of the house of European bondage. Men fear rationalism in religion as much as republicanism in politics. They are more afraid of believing too little than too much. They go for quantity, more than quality. They think a strong and a pungent faith, full of the terrors of the law and sharply spiced with the Cayenne of election, total depravity, and everlasting punishment, is more available to tame the passions of youth, and keep society in order, than a milder and more rational doctrine.

Such, too, is the energy of our life in this country, that we sometimes carry the doctrines of the Old World to even greater extremes than our ancestors of Europe. What has been abated of temporal penalties, we emphasize upon the torments of hell-fire; and, being denied the *auto da fe*, we are inclined to turn the Judge of all into an inquisitor-general, and enlarge Smithfield and St. Bartholemew's into a hell of ample space and eternal duration. The gradual and beautiful processes of the development of character we energize into a conversion of a few hours or minutes, and do up our religion, as we do our business, in double-quick time. We intensify the preached word into revivalism, and invent camp-meetings, anxious seats, and itinerant evangelists to accelerate the speed of the operation. All that is lacking in grave authority in the American Church is attempted to be made up by the urgency of appeal, the rapidity of attack of the spiritual flying light-artillery, and the supple application of means to accomplish the end at all hazards.

But in spite of all these perversions and these embarrassments, in spite of the discouraging aspects of the times and the seeming monopoly of worldliness and oppression, we reason from history, we rest in faith and the promises, we surrender ourselves to our deepest instincts, when we say that the American Church is one day to be the greatest and the best of all our institutions, and the preserver and buttress of them all. It shall lead off our more than twelve tribes into a better promised

land than the ancient one, flowing with milk and honey. It shall be the constitution of the constitution, and the law of the laws. As the ages pass and the national destiny unfolds, it cannot but be that a religion like that of Jesus, unveiled of its human coverings, released from its old corruptions, and standing out in its majesty and loveliness, free as great nature and great Providence, will take the lead of a free people. It is fated to do this work as much as water is to run down hill, or the thunder to follow the lightning. The mightiest cannot but be the mightiest. And it will mould public sentiment, the morals of trade, the aims and aspirations of youth, the spirit of education, the movements of art and literature, and the administrations of government, as the potter moulds the clay. The lofty steeples clustered in every city, the sufficiency of the voluntary system to support public worship, the zeal of missions at home and abroad, all betoken the prevalence, first or last, of the religious interests. He must finally reign whose right it is to reign.

In speaking of the characteristics of the future great American Church, and our duties to it at the present day, we set out with the position that the Church here must eventually be a different one from any in the Old World. The original settlement of the country was for the sake of religious freedom, and that original idea will be found inscribed upon every brick and stone of the new edifice that is growing up year by year, and which is more God's building than man's. For nations and churches, as well as individuals, are under a Providence, and that Divine Architect builds and fashions wiser than popes, councils, and conferences can decree. Not in vain can this vast theatre have been opened so late in the history of man. It is to do more than found a free state and provide a new granary of wheat and corn for the famishing nations. America is the fifth act in the Christian drama. Here all that man has done, thought, felt, and suffered in the past for Christianity, is to be gathered to a head, and find its explanation, use, and vindication. Upon us the ends of the world seem to have come. Apostles have gone forth in our behalf. For us martyrs and confessors have given their testimony and suffered. For us Peter the Hermit roused the Crusades, and

Luther proclaimed the Reformation. For us churches have risen and fallen, and good men have lived and taught, and endless experiments have been tried, and the best way and the worst way of church management have been respectively adopted, that from it all we may come to our duty and task in this fresh scene with wise and instructed hearts. Nor need we feel that all rests on us; but if we are faithful, God will guide and God will provide, and not suffer the infinite cause of his truth to fail.

Up to the present time the American Church has, with all its apparent fragments and sects, been divided into two bodies in reality. Most persons of all parties will probably recognize this generalization as just. There have been on our soil the Asiatic and European Churches of the past, and the new-born, struggling Church of the American type, just getting under weigh. The characteristics of the former are old ceremonies, rites, usages, traditions, saintships, as in the Roman Catholic Church; or old dogmas, creeds, confessions, books, names, leaders, as in the Lutheran, Calvinistic, and English Churches; but in both cases, precedents, precedents take the lead; men live upon the past, swear by their fathers, and believe the treasury of the Lord is empty of any further riches for us. While the characteristics of the latter-day or truly American Church are reason as the interpreter even of revelation; Christ before all his disciples, apostles, the fathers, or reformers in unapproachable authority; the past good to learn from, but not to govern us despotically; the inner light of the soul against any dead letter of dogma or creed or Scripture; religion for man, not man for religion; religion to save us hereafter by saving us here; religion, not to rescue us from the hands of God or his laws, but to bring us to God and to obedience to his laws; religion to be the universal sentiment and inspiration of life, not its holiday dress, and put-on-and-put-off style of character.

Let us not be misunderstood. We make no complaint, that the old churches of Asia and Europe and Africa, with the fathers, saints, and good books, should have a foothold and a freehold in our new republican America. Welcome their learning, welcome their piety, welcome their experience of such a long track of time,

and such a wide scale of nations, races, and institutions! It is a most precious heritage, more valuable to us than all the crown jewels of all the kings of the Old World. It would have been fatal to us, if, when we landed on this virgin soil, we had not brought the seeds of our native land to plant in the wilderness. In history we cannot jump any of the links of connection, or pass from the bottom to the top of the ladder without going over the intermediate rounds. The day of small things must come before the day of great things. All we deprecate is the disposition to perpetuate for ever the reign of the old doctrines and ceremonies, which our fathers found good and sufficient. That folly would be very much as if we should refuse to shingle our roofs, because our ancestors thatched them, or to ride in railroad-cars because they used hackney and stage coaches, or to write with steel or gold pens because they employed only the genuine goose-quill. If printing is better than manuscript, if astronomy is better than astrology, and chemistry than alchemy, and republicanism than monarchy or aristocracy, why may there not be improvements in religion as in everything else? Has any eternal bar to progress been erected in this direction? Has God given full scope to the aspirations and inventions of his children in matters of inferior moment, and put the seal of an everlasting and immovable stand-still upon the broadest, richest, and most vital subject of all, religion? Before the artist, the inventor, the discoverer, nay, even before the builder, the sailor, the husbandman, do there glow bright visions of unattained but possible good,—new ideas, better methods, brilliant conquests of truth, fresh sources of power, novel applications of use,—and shall the student, the preacher, the philanthropist, and the private Christian be condemned to an eternal monotony? Is there no “more excellent way” in this vast and glorious sphere? Did the fathers drink the well of truth dry? Can such terms of uncalculated greatness as life, duty, faith, revelation, immortality, the soul, God, Christ, admit of no new conception, no jet of fresh inspiration, no gleam of a richer beauty, no touch of a tenderer pathos, no thrill of a mightier power, no combination of a wiser use? It is treason to God and man to deny it.

But if the sentiment of religion is an improvable senti-

ment in the mind and heart, and its institutions are capable of modification and amendment, — if, as he who pointed the first cargo of faith and hope in the Mayflower to the New World prayed and exhorted, “there is new light to break forth from the word,” as from the works of God, — what will it be? what are its characteristics, the signs of its coming, and the tokens of its genuineness? If the American Church is to differ from the Asiatic or the European Church, how will it differ, and what shall give us assurance that change is improvement, and that the hosts are headed for the promised land, and not back again to Egypt and bondage?

The first trait which naturally appears in the genuine American Church is *freedom*. For, as the Church is a sequent of the general circle of life, and as freedom is the genius of our people and our institutions, it must belong to our religion as it does to our politics. The Church, like the State, may be unfaithful to this duty, and as slavery stains our free constitutions with its polluting hand, so does spiritual bondage in a degree continue to falsify the energies of our American Christianity. We have, in significant phrase, made a *declaration of our independence*, rather than earned and possessed it in reality. But that makes no difference with the general fact. Entire spiritual freedom is the Canaan for which we are bound, and though we may be obliged to spend more than forty years, and cross the desert of trial and conflict, to reach it, the result is certain. We must be free. We cannot accept any other yoke than that of Christ, happy if we throw not even that off for a season in our wild youth. Fathers of the Church, doctors of the Middle Ages, Luthers and Calvins, all very good, all very well, in their place and for their time; but no more adapted to us of this nineteenth century and this free country, than the swaddling-bands of the infant to the limbs of the full-grown man. It is all said in one word, we have outlived that style of thought and stage of progress. We may be no better men morally and spiritually than were those old saints and sages and heroes; we may even be worse; but at all events we cannot be as they were, that is certain; we have left, and are gradually leaving, all that for ever, and have entered into another sphere of sentiment and life. We accept the privilege, and with

it the danger. Liberty, — a word that sends a shock of alarm through the cathedrals, as through the palaces, of Europe, — liberty, which it is impiety as it is treason to utter there, we receive with fervent gratitude for the past, and with good hope for the future. It has its perils, but they are the perils of manhood, outgrowing the leading-strings of youth, and taking its own fearless way in the world. Of itself, freedom is less a positive good than a negative good, a condition to other benefits, a chance and an opportunity of development, a fair field for growth, with bushes and brambles cleared away. Not Calvin, not Channing, not Pius the Ninth, or the General Assembly, must lord it over our fair American spiritual heritage. Too long and too tamely have our people in this country tried to believe as their fathers did of yore. But this will not answer; the pattern of olden faith does not fit, and the result of confounding Romanism, or Calvinism, or any one of the old creeds, with Christianity, is, that we sink the religion of heaven with the millstone of human tradition or doctrine which we tie to it into the deep sea, while the nation advances towards infidelity. Four fifths of our young men are alleged, by a journal of great ability, to be unbelievers in the Christian religion, and seven eighths of our population are out of the pale of the Church proper, as professors or communicants! There is rottenness in Denmark somewhere, and the explanation which we should give, and we submit it to our readers whether there is not sense in it, is, that the Christian Church has tried to be the very same in the New World that it was in the Old. And yet it cannot be the same, it must breathe the spirit of our free and republican institutions, or wither and die. Every church, every religious body, will eventually flourish here as it is free, free of human dictation in order that it may all the more reverently sit at the feet of Jesus and bow to the will of God. The creeds of Nice and Athanasius, the articles of Greece, Rome, or England, the propositions that Luther nailed in defiance of the Pope to the parish church of Wittenberg, or the doctrines of Calvin's Institutes, have had their day; they are dead and buried, that is, in their spirit, in the charm and freshness with which they suited the men of their time; and we do a great disservice to the Gospel, and a great injustice to

them, when we try to keep them longer above ground, rather than let them peacefully sleep in their final rest. For they do not look well or sound well now, by the side of our grand oceanic lakes, out on our sweet prairies, in the bee-hive hum of our busy cities, and in the gentle homes of free and happy human beings. In the dark ages, in grim wars and feuds, in lonely monasteries and awe-inspiring churches, with the superstitions and traditions of Paganism still lingering upon the hill and valley, the lake and the forest, election, infant damnation, mysteries, and terrors, and the glare of a material hell, did not jar on the sense so very badly, but chimed quite well with the severe tone of life everywhere. But all that is changed. Free America must have a free Church, an independent Church. Humane, practical, new, earnest, common-sense, and wide-awake America must have, and by the necessary determination of her national life she will have, not the religion of the empire, the kingdom, or the hierarchy, but the Christianity of the New Testament, the religion of "liberty, equality, fraternity," the faith of human brotherhood and divine fatherhood. And the churches that have the most of a true, spiritual freedom are bound by an inevitable law to grow, and the churches that deny that privilege, however propped and buttressed up by names and venerable authority, are bound to decay. Eternal truth and justice preside over both processes of the growth on the one hand, and the decay on the other, and men are but instruments in the mighty hand of Providence to accomplish the result.

A second characteristic of the American Church, when it ripens to its full maturity, must be *reason, common sense, the inner light*. This is a sequence from the last. For to cut loose from human authority is to fall back on Scripture and the soul as sufficient guides. As we do this in all other things in America, it is but working out our "manifest destiny" to do it in religion. The disposition that prompts us to build our ships, or cast our stoves on a new model, handles doctrines and ceremonies with equal assurance. We cannot accept the notion that the Christian fathers, who were converts from Jewish and Pagan philosophy, got the exact and perfect idea of the Gospel at first, and left no room for improvement. We must canvass their writings just as freely as

we do the last *Bibliotheca Sacra* or *Christian Examiner*. We know they were great men, but their errors were great too. Their Christianity was a conglomerate, by the way they were converted, not the pure article of the New Testament. Hence we must use our common sense, and when we find anything bad or foolish, be it in never so popular a book or hoary a church, we must say it is bad and foolish in all sincerity and courage. Nothing is ever gained by making believe, and by compromises between error and truth. Religion, of all things, requires us to be frank, truthful, honest, above-board in word and deed, and firm in our convictions, however the world may wag. Not the dead letter of Scripture, but its living spirit, must be our inspiration. Our scribes, as well as those of the time of Christ, sit too much and too long in Moses's seat, and give us for the Gospel the Law; for Christianity, Judaism; for the faith of the Father, and the charity of universal brotherhood, and the hope of a coming golden age on earth and in heaven, the beautiful and glorious sentiment of a living Gospel, the tattered and faded phylacteries of Rabbinical tradition, and the commandments of men. In America, almost for the first time, religion and the soul are left to themselves to work out their own problem. And we cannot dodge the duty of using our individual mind and heart in the examination and settlement of these solemn and interesting themes. We are not at liberty to sit down and fold our hands and say: "The religion of our ministers, of our churches, is good enough and true enough for us. We will risk it." God has thrown open this splendid New World, not chiefly that we may eat, drink, and sleep better than we did over the water, but that here a nobler state, a truer church, might rise, and hence spread to bless and save the nations. The exercise of human wit and reason cannot, of course, materially alter the main pillars of truth, or reverse the decisions of revelation. The use of human reason, and, following with the Quakers in their beautiful doctrine, the guidance of the inner light, only serve to individualize and apply our faith. It is but chewing our food before we swallow it, and digesting it after it is swallowed, that it may nourish and strengthen us.

The last attribute of the American Church we will

speak of is its *humanity*. The old idea was, All for the glory of God; the new one is, All for the good of man, and then all will be for the glory of God. The anxiety in the old European and Oriental Churches was to do something to set God right, to placate the Divine wrath, to satisfy God's justice, establish his government, arrange his affairs, clear up his ways, and vindicate his providence. But that toil and trouble is all saved now. We know that all is well up *there*; the clear mirror of the outspread lake, faithfully reflecting every hue and tinge of cloud and tree and shore and ship, and all the bright lights that come and go in the overhanging firmament, is not purer or smoother in its calmest mood than the serene depths of the divine nature, over which no windy gusts of impatience ever blow, no angry waves of controversy ever beat, but all is full of light and life and peace and infinite love.

The characteristic of humanity is quite as native and necessary to the Church here as is that of liberty. Other nations, other churches, have arisen and flourished for classes, individuals, ranks, professions; and classes, individuals, ranks, professions, get along very well in them. But the race, the mighty masses of thinking, feeling, suffering men and women and children, do not fare so well. The Pope, no doubt, thinks Rome a very good place to live and expand in, for the Church exists for him and his profession. Priests and soldiers have eaten up Italy. But ask the great mass of the Italian people what they think of the Church, and we well know their reply, for history declares it, that they would answer in muttered thunders of indignation and in volleys of musketry, if they could get the chance, against the mis-called Church of Christ that starves the multitude to stuff the few. The Churches of Greece, Rome, England, exist as heirlooms of the feudal ages, when mankind were nothing, and the king and the bishop were everything. But the features of the true American Church are entirely different. The people is the leading term in the problem, and the priest the auxiliary one. Man is spelled with a capital, and church, priest, king, with small letters, if there is to be any discrimination.

Hence doctrines get more breadth, the number of the elect is enlarged, some daring souls venture upon the

assurance that salvation cannot be less than universal, and the whole tendency of things in our country is to give Christianity a humanitarian character. Philanthropy is a more popular virtue than piety. And when men die, we ask, not how many prayers they said, or how punctually they observed the rites and ordinances of religion, but what poor family did they help, what orphan child educate, what cup of cold water or healing draught did they carry to a doomed Norfolk and Portsmouth, what college or school did they build with their gathered thousands, leaving the epitaph on a tomb bedewed with the tears of a bereaved community, "He did well for his race."

The saints that shine brightest in the American calendar are not the students of musty books, the monks of ascetic devotion, the nuns of unnatural celibacy, the hair-splitters and logic-grinders of dogmatic theology, but they who have sought to leave the world the better that they have lived in it. If any here are ever canonized, it will be St. Beecher for the cause of Temperance, St. Worcester for Peace, St. Channing for Freedom, St. Robert Raikes for Sunday Schools, St. Tuckerman for the Poor, St. Dix for the Insane, St. Pound and Brace for Ragged Schools, St. Stowe for the Slave, and St. Nightingale for the Wounded Soldier. Blessed era of the world! when at last the happy idea dawns on the Church, that it is to vindicate its right to be, not by demonstrating the five points of Calvinism to be true, but by clearing up and reforming and blessing the dens of the "Five Points" of vice and misery in our cities.

This career, too, on which the American Church is launched, is, we contend, quite as good for our theology and piety as it is for our philanthropy. The people of the whole earth have gathered together here from all nations, tongues, and religions, Jew, Christian, Pagan, Mahometan, Mormon, to teach us brotherhood; and by teaching us the brotherhood of man, to open our sealed and hardened natures to see and feel the fatherhood of God. When we love our brother whom we have seen, we shall be prepared to love God whom we have not seen. When we have wept with the widow and orphan, pitied the sorrows of the poor, felt the bonds and stripes of the slave, remembered the heart-sickness of the exile

and the stranger, visited the sick and prisoner, and comforted the desolate and bereaved, then on a touched and prepared heart will fall every sentence of Jesus, every truth of God. Only too slowly has the Church in America been awaking to its godlike mission of doing good, like its Divine Founder; but in the mean time a species of secular churches in benevolent agencies, temperance societies, odd-fellowships, Howard associations, and others, have arisen to shame the recreant religion of the times by proving the world to be more benevolent than the Church. We care not; so good be done, let it be done, everywhere and by everybody. We will not forbid those "who follow not with us." But we doubt not that many a philanthropic society will be found at the final reckoning to have done more to turn the scale of human fortunes in the right direction than many a church. Still, though the society is good, the Church is better, for it is the heaven-appointed institution, and will prevail, and all ought to rally to make it as good and efficient as possible.

To conclude. When the now dismembered fragments of the bodies known as Liberal Christians,—the Unitarians, Universalists, Christians, Hicksite Quakers, Swedenborgians, and various other sects,—can so far forego their several *isms* as to be willing to work together cordially for the founding and extension of the true American Church, it will be a happy day for them and a hopeful one for our country. For we do verily believe that the Gospel of Jesus Christ, divine, heaven-commissioned, and miracle-sanctioned as it was, will yet become almost obsolete and inefficient in this free country, if we try to identify it in the minds of the people with the irrational dogmas of the past. They will repudiate Christianity itself, if with it they must associate such doctrines as are preached in nine tenths of the churches of the United States. They will not stand long on ceremony, but take a short cut to infidelity. This is done, and is doing now. What then can save the Gospel from rejection, and the Church from decay or extinction?

None of the modern machinery of zeal, missions, and revivalism. That but aggravates the evil instead of curing it. But the remedy is, **MAKE THE CHURCH WHAT IT SHOULD BE FOR A FREE COUNTRY.** Put it on an Amer-

ican track. Let the ideas that have come to light and to power here, of Freedom, Reason, and Humanity, pervade and vivify it. The churches of the Old World grew up in narrow limits, and breathed a sectional and confined air. The mythologies and philosophies of Egypt, Syria, Greece, Rome, threw in dark and corrupting mixtures into the fountain of Christianity, of which it has not yet run clear. We appeal to all who love their country, and wish its best and lasting good, to labor for a pure and undefiled religion; for what but this can settle our difficult and dangerous questions, rescue us from bald Mammon-worship, and guide our vast destiny, not over those precipices of ruin down which other nations have fallen, but onward in the paths of peace. We appeal to all who love their religion, who have tasted its sweetness and felt its power, to unite, to co-operate with others of like mind in upholding the cause of a liberal, rational, and humane faith, wherever it is planted and under whatever title. Men die, but institutions are immortal. He who labors in faith, patience, and self-sacrifice to plant a true church, is doing good to generations yet unborn. Forget in so glorious and God-like a cause the prejudices and passions of the passing hour, drop the narrow jealousies of sect and party, and let the vision of a Church, purer and more beautiful than any yet seen on earth, fill and transport your souls, — the new Church of the New World, — Christianity unveiled of its scaffoldings of human systems and errors, and standing forth as a perfect temple, — “the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the Truth.”

A. A. L.

ART. IV. — MORNING.

“ And Samuel lay until the morning, and *then* opened the doors of the house of the Lord.” — 1 Sam. iii. 15.

OPEN the doors of the house, your home ;
Bid the fresh air and the sun “ Well come ! ”
There 's no need of the caution that kept the bars tight,
For the prowlers have fled at the presence of light ;
Lo ! the phantoms of dream can no longer affright,
And the weeping of sorrow endures but a night ; —
Open the doors of the house.

Open the doors of the house of the Senses.
Hence the dull mufflers no more their defences !
Upon Nature and Life open widely your eyes,
And your ears to their speech and their melodies ;
Taste and Smell run along the live web of their ties,
And the cells of the Touch feel their magic supplies ! —
Open the doors of the house.

Open the doors of the house of the Lord !
Reason and Liberty wake restored.
Let the soul now a nobler career begin,
With more love to show and more worth to win.
Banish out every spirit to darkness akin ; —
Let the guests and the angels come trooping in ; —
Open the doors of the house.

N. L. F.

ART. V. — A HALF-CENTURY OF THE UNITARIAN CONTROVERSY.

THE caption of this article will be a summons that may stir the memories of a few of the eldest of our readers. The era referred to is longer far than our own remembrances will cover, and therefore we say at the outset, that we are to write upon the theme with the help of records, and principally for that other class of our readers who must also trust to records for their knowledge of what transpired a half-century ago.

It is now just fifty years since a controversy still in progress was opened in this Commonwealth between two parties who were held by a relation of mutual interest, because they constituted together the old Congregational body, and who were brought into a relation of painful antagonism because they were divided by a serious issue in matters of Christian doctrine. The suggestion presses itself upon us with something like the solemnity of a religious obligation, that we ought to sum up for present use the best lessons we can gather from a review of that space of years. A vast amount of time and thought and zeal has been spent upon the controversy which then arose. A mass of literature, in newspapers, pamphlets, periodicals, and solid volumes, has accumulated, presenting both sides of the controversy in all its details, in every possible light. The present relation between the parties to that strife, though it may still preserve some painful remembrances of mutual wrongs, and is still in many respects a relation of opposition, is, on the whole, highly favorable to a fair reconsideration of the points on which they are intelligently and conscientiously divided.

In reviewing, as in a series of papers it is our purpose to do, some of the more important elements of that controversy, we wish to avoid every matter of acrimony and strife. If we know our own intention, it is one that looks beyond any narrow, sectarian aim. We extend the hand of reconciliation, and address the word of fraternal friendship, to any member of the other fellowship of our divided household, who is ready to listen to what we may be able to say, in a spirit becoming a Christian, concern-

ing the present aspect of our ancient strife. We believe that some approach to harmony may be made in defining the points of difference between us as they now stand, cleared from former animosities, and tested by the trial made of them by a generation of departed champions. For the sake of convenience and brevity, we shall freely use the terms *Unitarian* and *Orthodox* to designate the two parties. Our own sense of perfect justice to our predecessors would dispose us to use the word *Calvinist* instead of the word *Orthodox*, for it was Calvinism, the real concrete system of the Genevan Reformer, and not the vague and undefined abstraction entitled Orthodoxy, which our predecessors assailed. We might also plead, that a due respect for the strong preferences of many of the early advocates of our views dictated the application to them of the name of *Liberal Christians*, rather than that of Unitarians. But we shall content ourselves with saying just what we have said on the matter of names, and with saying no more. The terms Unitarian and Orthodox, which we have just accepted, may be used without the offence of allowance, of assumption, or of censure, to designate the parties to the controversy. That controversy in its early and midway stages was connected with many irritating and embittering circumstances, which we must recognize only as matters of history, dealing with them as with the ashes that are cooled, and will not admit of being kindled again. Much of the mutual misrepresentation, and many of the extreme measures and statements on both sides, are to be charged upon the acrimony involved in the controversy. Thus the real issue opened in the controversy as agitating simply and only the question, What are the doctrines of the Gospel as taught in the Bible? was to many minds hopelessly perplexed and obscured. We are to review the strife of fifty years solely to learn what that real issue was, and how it stands between us now. We can put aside all mean partialities, all unchristian animosities, all heats of temper kindled by collisions which embittered the relations of neighbors and households, which referred themselves for adjudication to the highest tribunals of the State, and even assailed the integrity of the decisions there pronounced upon them.

An opinion or sentiment which has found an exten-

sive prevalence, and has been gratefully entertained by members of both parties, recognizes some present signs of conciliation between them. This welcome recognition makes account not only of buried animosities and an oblivion of some old strifes, but discerns a tendency to modify and harmonize our respective creeds, and to come together at some point that lies between us. Our own opinion on that question, if given at all, will be expressed only through inferences. We are aware that to many persons an individual opinion in such a case is without value, because it can have no positive authority; while those who would allow it any weight would regard it as cast into the right or the wrong scale, according as it coincided or clashed with their own opinion. We certainly hope, however, that after we have exhibited in these papers the present aspect of the controversy, as defined by the principal points now at issue cleared of all irrelevant matter, we shall have furnished some means to help an intelligent decision on the opinion just referred to. In the course of this introductory sketch we shall state three great doctrinal positions, which, in our view, constitute the essence and substance of our side of the controversy, and which it is our intention to treat in subsequent papers. Under the epithet of *Unitarianism* have been classed a great many individual speculations, eccentric notions, extreme views and opinions on various religious matters, which are not essential to the substance of Unitarianism as a method of defining the doctrinal system of the Gospel. There was also left between the parties a middle ground, embracing much of the doctrinal and evangelical substance of our religion, which was open to the free enjoyment and use, to the belief or the denial, the speculations or the dogmatism, of either side, and concerning which a member of either party might hold the same opinions, or might be wholly at issue with a member of his own or of the other party, without involving the distinctive creed of Unitarianism or Orthodoxy. We shall have a word to add on this point before we close.

When the controversy opened, no one knew to what result it would lead. But so far as either party had formed any definite expectations, founded on their own wishes, as to what it would bring to pass, we may ven-

ture to say that both parties have been disappointed. The Unitarians expected that the change of opinion which had long been gradually working, and which had been brought to a crisis on the opening of the controversy, would advance more rapidly through discussion and division, till, before the interval of fifty years had, as now, elapsed, Orthodoxy would have become a thing of the past, while Unitarianism would be the prevailing type of religion. Unitarians did expect this rapid success, this form of a triumph, and they have been disappointed. The Orthodox, on their part, expected that they should succeed in putting down and utterly extirpating Unitarianism, by identifying it with infidelity, and by discrediting all its show of argument from Scripture and Christian history, if not from reason. This was really the purpose and the aim of Orthodoxy; but the purpose has been thwarted, the aim has not been attained.

It may, however, be affirmed, with a good show of plausibility, that while neither party has realized its expectation in the length and breadth of the full statement just made, both parties have in fact approximated to the substantial results which they had in view; both have realized their aims in a qualified form. The Unitarian may say that the old Orthodoxy has been extirpated, as the modern shape and temper of it are greatly unlike the old Calvinism that we assailed when it was nominally believed and theoretically defended. The dissensions which have divided that once united party into *schools*, (a very kindly name for them,) and the ingenious evasions, devices, and speculations which have essayed to abate the offensive qualities of Orthodoxy, might be turned to great account in proving that the Unitarian controversy has accomplished its main intent. On the other hand, the Orthodox party may affirm, that Unitarians have received, and been compelled to listen to, a warning, — a real warning, not without visible tokens of its painful penalties; that, if Unitarianism consistently and logically followed out what seemed to be some of its first principles, they would lead it to infidelity, would manifest the lack of the Gospel element in declining churches and in a wasting of the life and energies of true Christian piety. Whether certain results which have

been reached by some who were once Unitarians should serve as a satisfactory demonstration of the truth of predictions uttered fifty years ago, will be considered by some of the Orthodox as a question not admitting debate, but as decided in the affirmative by facts that have transpired in this community. Candor, however, will plead that this decision be arrested, till the appearance of *infidelity* in other places, and apart from all the agencies of Unitarianism, and in the closest connection with Orthodoxy, has been fairly accounted for. Transcendentalism — that hard word for expressing an unwholesome fog — was not a native emanation from New England or from Unitarianism.

We have read over many wearisome and painful, as well as many most instructive pages, on both sides of this half-century of controversy. As we have read the history backwards, its earlier pages are for the hour most fresh in our thoughts, and these are unfortunately its most offensive and irritating pages. As we have perused some of these sharp and bitter documents, we have been tempted to impugn the truth of a thousand essays and of ten thousand commonplaces about the value of the press in diffusing light and in dispelling error, and to yield to a profound regret that the world contains such things as types and printing-ink. In this frame of mind, we ask ourselves if the documentary part of the controversy did not, on the whole, do more harm than good? Did it not minister to strife? Did it not sharpen pens with passion and dip them in gall? Did not the taking of sides as writers addressing a larger circle than embraced the real disputants, tempt to an intense, acrimonious, and exaggerated way of treating the views of opponents? Would not the ordinary methods of dealing with religious topics in preaching and in pastoral intercourse have relieved the controversy of much of its bitterness, and have served far better the ends of truth, and have left the relations of parties now in a more desirable position? Would not the controversial preaching of the time of strife, which also was very heating and offensive, have been much less so had it not been envenomed by the poisonous matter of a thousand malignant little pamphlets? It cannot but have been that these documents aggravated the controversy. Even when former

friends, who have fallen out by the way, begin to write letters to each other concerning their variances, they generally cease from that time forward to hold any intercourse. Our first "religious newspapers," and some other journals, were established to aid in this controversy; and farmers and mechanics in the interior of this State, instead of being served with an agricultural or scientific sheet, were solicited to work themselves up into a theological rancor. Those who were the least informed about the real issue that was opened, thus became often the most excited about it. Their acquaintance with the controversy was confined to the hardest terms and the most irritating incidents in it, and their inquiries, such as they were, made as they were, and met as they were, resulted only in misinformation. A sober second-thought, which transfers all the blame of these hostilities and embitterments from the types to the tempers of those who used them, draws us away from these irritating pamphlets, with all their personalities, scandals, and misrepresentations. We can but express an emphatic regret that they will always lie at the threshold of this controversy for those who may concern themselves with its history. The very intermeddling with them, even with a kindly intent, makes one feel, as probably the most pacific visitor to Sebastopol will feel for years to come, as he walks over that mined and powder-impregnated citadel, that, though the great batteries are silenced, some unexploded engine or some petty fuse may still be rendered dangerous at his touch, and may go off and hit him.

The question very naturally presents itself to the mind of one who calmly and candidly reviews this controversy, Why was there so much of acrimony and passion, so much of bitterness and animosity, manifested in the conduct of it? Why was there such mutual hostility, misrepresentation, and uncharitableness? Why did any of these odious and wicked elements mingle in the strife? Considering the subject-matter of the controversy as neither financial, social, nor political, but as simply a matter of religion, where there was no establishment, no inquisition, no prize of power, connected with it, — considering the end which both parties had in view, the attainment of truth on matters of Scriptural and spiritual interest, — considering the character and standing of

the chief parties to it, men of education, culture, refinement, and piety, friends, classmates, members of the same profession, and that a sacred one, — considering all these things, why was the controversy so bitter and passionate? One might say that the points of difference could have been discussed in perfect amity. The parties to it should have patiently aided each other to discover the truth; they should have corresponded as friends; they should have differed as brethren. Each might have taught the other; each might have learned from the other. Some portion, more or less, of their mutual ill-feeling would have been abated by this course, as certainly the most offensive elements were introduced into the controversy by the opposite course. It ought to have been thus, but it was not. Whether the questions then agitated *could have been* debated in the spirit we have indicated, is one of those contingencies which we must decide according to our view of human nature. A phrase which we have just used as to “differing as brethren,” reminds us that this is generally the worst kind of difference. Either party in this controversy would have debated its differences with Mahometans in a much better spirit than that in which they discussed their differences with each other.

What we have thus written, as if reflecting upon the value of the press, because it was turned to the service of misrepresentation and passion, must not silence our grateful recognition of its noble service to the cause of truth and charity, when its potent agency was used by wise and good, by calm and moderate men, on either side. There are some noble and precious documents called out by the controversy, which will have a permanent value as contributions to our Christian literature, illustrative of the historical, the doctrinal, and the experimental elements and evidences and working forces of our religion.

It is observable, that when the successors to the parties in an old feud, after the lapse of many years, review the strife, if it has been cleared of the personalities and the acrimony and the rivalries of interest which originally embittered it, their readiness to reconsider the issue in a spirit favorable to charity and wisdom will often be accompanied by marked relents of feeling.

Sometimes, however, these revulsions which follow when all exciting passions have been quieted are attended with some weaknesses of concession, and with a tendency to depreciate what was once exaggerated. The two opposing parties did contend most hotly. The Orthodox measured their responsibility for zeal and opposition by the obligation laid on them to defend the Gospel, in all its essential truths, against an insidious and specious influence, which was undermining its foundations and destroying all its power to redeem souls and to save the world. The Unitarians defined the duty imposed on them to be a purification of the prevailing theology from all those inventions and corruptions of ages of superstition, which had impaired the power of the Gospel and were at the time making at least three sceptics or unbelievers for each single believer in this community. An additional motive prompted the Unitarians, namely, that of vindicating their own right to the Christian name, while they exercised a liberty that lay within the broad terms of Protestantism. The issue thus raised between the parties was a momentous and an exciting one. They mutually inflamed each other; while embarrassments growing out of a sundered fellowship, and hostilities raised by questions of rights in former joint property, aggravated the strife. These embitterments of the controversy have for the most part ceased to affect us. We must carefully distinguish between them and the doctrinal questions that were agitated. We must do this in order that we may not under-estimate the importance of the real issue, or fail of justice to the original parties to it.

The paramount object recognized by both those parties was to ascertain and defend the essential doctrines of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. A view of those doctrines conformed to the system of Calvinism had long prevailed here, and according to terms of law, that system might claim by right of possession, and by established authority, and by a thousand incidental results of its ancient tenure, to hold a place of power by well-certified and almost unquestioned warranties of Scripture and custom. The natural course of things would have indicated that any dissent from that system should declare itself by an open dispute, a frank, bold, and spontaneous

challenge of its truth, its consistency with reason, or its authority in Scripture. We might have expected that the dissentients from Calvinism would have been the attacking party. But it was not so. The dissentients were put on the defensive at the opening of the controversy. We should insist upon this view of the case, even if we admitted all that the Orthodox party alleged as to the insidious and covert way in which Unitarianism undermined Calvinism. The plea of the defenders of the old system is, that by an artful course of measures, which included silence, concealment, a gradual and steady modification of the tone and substance of preaching, and a sort of tacit understanding among the leaders in the manœuvre, Orthodoxy was assailed with a vast deal more of effect than would have attended an open declaration of hostilities against it. But *this* issue is one which it does not belong to open and avowed Unitarians to assume as lying between them and the Orthodox. Fairly understood, the issue lies between two sections of the Orthodox party, and reaches far back into the last century. The first men who swerved from Calvinism, who relaxed their faith in the stern system, and broke the covenant of rigid conditions into which they had entered, were men who would have shrunk with dread from Unitarianism. We do not see, therefore, that we are bound to assume their cause. Some of them were precisely where tolerated and honored champions of Orthodoxy stand now. We may claim them, in one sense, as brethren, so far as they were dissentients from rigid Orthodoxy, and so far as they fostered the spirit of true religious freedom. But if any question of conscientiousness or candor is raised by the modern Orthodox as to the first incomings of a latent and unacknowledged heresy, and as to suspicions of an adroit or calculating management in connection with it, we submit that they must argue the question within their own fellowship, in much the same way in which the champions of their various schools are arguing it now. The first stages of dissent from Calvinism were the most difficult and venturesome to make, the most alarming in their foreshadowings of consequences; and those who consciously passed through them were most responsible to their covenants and to their brethren. The later

stages of that dissent were more easy and less accountable to any insulted or violated pledges, simply because they were taken under a relaxed state of doctrinal sentiment, and by men who, never having pledged themselves to Calvinism, had inherited a license in speculation and opinion. The reason, then, why the first dissent from Calvinism did not declare itself in open attack, but was reserved till, in a later generation, it was compelled to assume the defensive under the charge of being just hunted out from its disguises,—the reason of the fact seems to be, that the godfathers of infant Unitarianism would have insisted upon their own orthodoxy, while they were entertaining the first misgivings about Calvinism. When a man begins to doubt his own views, he does not assail them, but he modifies them. It would be hard to hold his son or grandson, who inherits his modification of opinions, responsible, not only for consistently following them to their ultimate consequences, but also for the original breach of covenant which the parent had to make in entertaining a heresy. But the reiterated charge, designed to convey a great reproach, while it accounts for a marvellous disclosure, is this: "Unitarianism came in privily." So it did. So did the Reformation come into Europe privily. So did Puritanism come into Great Britain privily. "What!"—we hear one of our modern echoes of the old charge ask,— "What! did not Luther and Knox and Baxter and their bold brethren make an honest avowal of their dissent from the old systems, and of their hearty and pledged allegiance to new heresies?" Most certainly they did. But the "Reformers before the Reformation" did not. And so have Unitarians in various places and under most exciting and painful consequences made the avowal of their Unitarianism. We contend, and we stand prepared to prove, that as soon as Unitarianism recognized its own features, it avowed itself; and as soon as Unitarians understood themselves as such, they practised no concealment. For Unitarianism not only "came privily" into this community, but it also came privily into the minds and hearts of its first disciples here. We do not deny that there were men who, at the crisis of the controversy, for reasons which weighed with their own consciences or sentiments, assumed under Unitarianism the same posi-

tion — an equivocal one to others — which Erasmus assumed to the Reformation. Yet we think that most of these men remained with the Orthodox, as Erasmus did with the Romanists. We know also that there were men of unquestionable integrity and piety whose acknowledged views certainly classed them with Unitarians, who still utterly refused to bear or answer to the name. Still we assert, that from the first moment that the presence and the discipleship of Unitarianism were here fully recognized by those most concerned in it, it was fully avowed, and never showed any unwillingness to define and defend its positions. That it did not at once recognize itself by a sectarian name — especially at a time when that name in England was suggestive rather of offensive political and philosophical than religious opinions — is no marvel to a candid mind.

Even in the papers emanating from the Orthodox party, one may find scattered, at wide distances, sentences that will explain in a kindly way facts upon which that party sought to put the harshest construction. Thus in the "*Spirit of the Pilgrims*" (Vol. II. p. 66) a very severe witness to the insidious incomings of the heresy says: "The change has been, not sudden, but gradual. It has been long in preparation and in progress. It has been accomplished, in some of its stages, by slow and scarcely perceptible degrees. A variety of causes have contributed to produce it." Dr. Beecher, in a letter to Dr. Woods, incidentally made a most frank admission, when he charged "the great defection from Evangelical doctrine in this city and region" to "the carelessness and negligence of former generations of ministers and churches." (*Spirit of the Pilgrims*, Vol. V. p. 393.) These words afford a most lucid and explanatory, as well as a most exculpatory, recognition of the development of Unitarianism, — a key to the whole mystery, a release from all insinuations and censures. The simple truth is, that the change of sentiment which resulted in Unitarianism may be traced distinctly, in three prominent stages of its progress, through three generations of ministers. When this fact is taken in connection with another important fact, — namely, that before the full development many ministers at their ordination had claimed, and the ordaining councils had

yielded to them, an exemption from such a profession of doctrinal opinions as would have pledged them to Calvinism, — we have the means of relieving this subject of a great deal of mystery, and, what is more, of vindicating the moral honesty of a class of men who have often been severely misjudged.

The charge brought against the early Unitarians here, of having practised an adroit concealment of a change of opinions through which they had passed, also assigned a motive in policy for such concealment. It had been practised "to deceive an unsuspecting and confiding people," by secretly undermining the prevailing faith, and by working under covert towards a result which the deceivers had strengthened themselves to meet when it could no longer be hidden from exposure. This charge was reiterated in every shape and form, according to the taste in the choice of language and the private moral standard of those who uttered it. It was wrought in with all the arguments from logic, history, or Scripture which were brought to bear upon the heresy. "The poison had been working in secret." "Artful disguises had been assumed." "Guilty silence had been practised." "Insinuating methods had been used." "Heretical books from England had been covertly circulated; and others had been published here on no apparent responsibility but that of the bookseller." "Some men who would now be called Unitarians, when charged with being such, indignantly denied it, or prevaricated about it." Phrases and sentences like these are found on nearly every page of the controversial documents of one of the parties in this controversy. A seemingly convincing proof of the truth of such assertions was furnished in the private letters, the admissions, or the forced acknowledgments of the culprits themselves. Belsham, in his *Memoirs of Lindsey*, had published some private letters from this quarter which recognized the unannounced presence and prevalence of Unitarian views among us. Dr. Morse, of Charlestown, selected out and republished here, in 1815, this explosive matter, and then the war indeed opened as on the tented field.

It is easy for us to understand that this charge of concealment, with all its severity of censure, might have been made in entire sincerity, and with a show of evi-

dence to support it, by the one party; while, at the same time, it does not fix the slightest stain upon the characters of those who were the subjects of it. A champion of that generation of Unitarians would now undertake a needless and a futile task, if he should set himself to vindicate them from the charge;—needless, because a simple knowledge of the facts of the case is a complete relief for them; and futile, because those who would censure them in view of these facts would not yield to the cogency of any other plea. Not for their vindication, then, but merely as a matter of explanatory history, will we briefly advert to these facts.

First of all stands the one, self-sufficient fact, that those whom this charge involves were Independents, New England Independents. We are very well aware of the admissions and assertions which were made in the old Platform, and by some of the fathers of New England, down to the time of Cotton Mather, to rid their churches of the title of Independency. A deference to the prejudices of their friends in Scotland, and to an old odium connected with that epithet in England and in Holland, led to an awkward rejection of it here. We are aware, too, that a show of relationship, intercommunion, responsibility, and right of advice or expostulation, was set up as impairing the Independency of our churches. But none the less were our churches Independent; if they were not, the ministers, at least, were Independent ministers. They were not the subjects of a Papacy, a Prelacy, or a Presbytery. They inherited a right to form their own faith by the Bible, and in the Bible. They inherited it by their nature and from their lineage, and from their Master. They were not amenable to any ecclesiastical tribunal, nor to any covenant, except as in their own judgment they considered that tribunal or covenant as conformed to Scripture. They were not held to hang their minds out, like thermometers, on their pulpits or door-posts, to indicate the degree of their daily rise or fall in spiritual heat. They were free to yield every day and every hour to the workings of thought, the processes of study, the experimental tests and trials of opinion. They were bound to receive truth as it came to them, and to declare it as it would edify.

Another of these simple historical facts to be had in

view is, that no one generation of ministers or laymen made the whole way of transition from Calvinism to Unitarianism. The responsibility of announcing the whole result, therefore, did not lie with those who were responsible for effecting but one stage in it. There is no denying, no candid student of our history can presume to deny, that, for a whole century before the full development of Unitarianism, there had been a large modification, a softening and toning down of the old theology, an undefined but recognized tempering of the creed, a relaxing of the strain upon faith, and a *compliant acquiescence in that state of things*. We must, indeed, go even farther back than the preceding century to find the real beginnings of that free spirit which, when reverently, but fearlessly and intelligently, exercised upon the Scriptures, brought in Unitarianism. Our fathers brought with them the Bible, to be interpreted by the principle of Protestantism. Their great doctrine was larger than their own minds, and they had to grow to it. We, their children, are still growing to it, so great is the doctrine, so full of developments, so sound and yet so undefined in its methods, so alarming sometimes, and yet so safe always in its issues. All that troubled and annoyed those noble men, all that they did wrong, as restrainers and persecutors of free opinion in its successive developments, is to be traced to their ignorance of the expansiveness, their dread of the consequences, of their own principle. They did not understand, they shrunk from applying, their own theory. The truth is, there never was a perfect accordance in doctrinal opinion even among the first company of exiled Christians. The colleague pastors of the first church in this city made rival catechisms for the babes of their flock, and took opposite sides in the painful strife of the great Antinomian controversy. Those men and women, too, were all inquirers, all thinkers, all pupils. They felt that they had the key to truth, but they were all their lives long seeking to fit it thoroughly to the wards of that golden lock which guards its mysteries. An unbroken succession of heretics, a steady succession of heresies, are recorded on the pages of our history. The Browns of Salem were shipped back to England almost immediately after landing. The Episcopalian Maverick of East Boston was,

in 1635, forbidden "to entertain strangers," lest they should be of an heretical turn, and Blackstone moved off from Boston from dislike of "the Lord's brethren." Roger Williams, Mrs. Hutchinson, and Samuel Gorton, Antinomians, Baptists, and Quakers, were successive trials of temper and of Protestantism. Independent thinkers, sectaries, dissentients from "order," in doctrine and rule, sprang up with each passing year. There must also have been much smothered thought, and unuttered dissent. Did not the good gossips and staid matrons, when, in the safety of a very small circle, the spinning-wheel ceased its hum, and the last sermon was rehearsed, occasionally try their honest logic upon the snarled web of their theology? Did not the husbandmen sometimes lean upon their hoes, or rest awhile from their labors in the forest, and seat themselves upon a log, to discuss something of the whole problem of Calvinism?

But our Orthodox brethren remonstrate, if, in asserting what we have just intimated, we imply that there were any germs or foreshadowings of Unitarianism in the latent or acknowledged ventures of free thought during the first century of our history. But why should we be forbidden to look so far back for the seeds of what was afterwards found to have so vigorous a growth? Unitarianism is really no such monstrous conception, no such terrible and malignant device of a godless heart and a perverted mind, as some of its dismayed opponents have represented it to be. If they only understood it, as it lies in the serious convictions and the earnest faith of one who believes with all his heart and soul and mind that it is the true statement of the doctrine of Christ, they would not boast of having so keen a discrimination that they can distinguish it by a mark of its own from all other heresies. In the year 1650, the General Court of Massachusetts Bay "convented" before it Mr. William Pynchon, the distinguished magistrate of Springfield, on account of some "false, erroneous, and heretical" notions, broached by him in a volume from his pen that had been published in London. His heresies related to the method of atonement through the death of Christ, and he showed no disposition to retract all his "errors," though "the elders" conferred with him, and the Rev. John Norton was appointed to answer his

book. A little more than a century afterwards, the Rev. John Rogers of Leominster came under suspicions of "unsoundness in respect to the doctrine of original sin and the Deity of the Lord Jesus Christ," and was driven from his office. That, between the dates of these two official proceedings against heresy, the distinctive views of Unitarianism were presenting themselves with a cogent though an unwelcome earnestness to several ministers and laymen, we have no more doubt than we have of our own existence. "Moderate Calvinism," a very vague term, indeed, but all the more significant because of its vagueness, was the convenient shelter of the early stages of our heresy. Strange to say, this term never seems to have been a bugbear or a fright, though it expresses the agency of all the mischief. A very slight glance at our ecclesiastical history will show how this stage of heresy was reached, and how heresy passed on farther on a very smooth and easy road.

By a law enacted in this colony in 1631, it was "ordered and agreed that for time to come noe man shalbe admitted to the freedome of this body polliticke, but such as are members of some of the churches within the lymitts of the same." No man, therefore, could hold any civil office, or vote in civil affairs, except he were a communicant. This ecclesiastical condition of citizenship had, of course, two most injurious and harmful consequences. Undesirable members united themselves to a church for the sake of securing their civil rights and reaching office. Worthy men who would not make the required profession, even for the sake of securing their civil rights, were rendered hostile to the prevailing type of religion. Those who were thus disfranchised in Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies petitioned the respective Courts for relief, in 1646, and afterwards laid their complaint before Parliament. In deference to an intimation in a letter from the king of England, this odious statute was repealed in 1664; but even in the substitute enacted, "a certifficat of being orthodox in religion," signed by the minister, was necessary to qualify a citizen who was not a communicant. The relative number of church-members had begun to diminish, with the increase of the population, after the year 1650. About the time of the repeal of the statute just noticed, a meas-

ure was adopted from virtual necessity which the prospective emergencies of the case had been long foreboding. As the children of church-members only were considered proper subjects of baptism, there was growing up from year to year an alarmingly increasing number of "heathen infants," who, of course, were outside of the covenant. A remedy was sought in a half-way measure, — half demand, half concession, — called in modern times a compromise. Parents who had themselves been baptized, "if not scandalous in their lives," though still unfit for the Lord's Supper, were by this measure permitted, on owning the covenant which *their parents* had made for them, to secure baptism for their children. As a matter of course, again, the relative proportion of communicants continued to diminish all the more. Then came another relaxing change. The Rev. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton, who lacked but little of being the pope of his county, as he was of his town, so great was his influence and so fully did he exercise it, was the mover in this alarming innovation. He advocated, with wonderful success over the country, the theory that the Lord's Supper is among the appointed means of regeneration; that persons who regard themselves as unconverted are bound to avail themselves of the aid and benefit of the rite; and that a profession of piety ought not to be required of those who with that intent should offer themselves for communion. His theory was widely put into practice, and the avidity with which it was seized upon is one of those significant intimations of latent discontent with the prevailing usage, which reveals more of the workings of heresy than some dim eyes are willing to recognize. By that innovation not only did church-members come into communion, but ministers also acceded to pulpits, without reaching in spiritual stature the high mark of Calvinism. These certainly were not guilty of hypocrisy in gradually yielding to liberal tendencies. They came in through a door which the spiritual watchmen had left open.

President Edwards dates in 1734 the beginning "of the great noise in this part of the country about Arminianism," another of those vague terms of which we may truly say, that not one person out of each ten who

used it knew the real meaning or the scope. This term was a real bugbear to the timid; and if they had known how much of unnamed and unlabelled heresy it signified, they would have dreaded it more than they did. It covered an indefinite amount of disloyalty to Calvinism. Whitefield's first visit to New England, in 1740, with his full record of experiences among friends and opponents, furnishes abundant proof that all the elements of Unitarianism were then at work here. The imported writings of Samuel Clarke and Thomas Emlyn probably favored the first direct Anti-Trinitarian speculations in this neighborhood. President Edwards wrote his work on the Freedom of the Will, in opposition to the heresies of Whitby, and his work on Original Sin, in opposition to those of Taylor. President John Adams affirmed that in 1750 his own minister, Rev. Lemuel Bryant, Dr. Jonathan Mayhew of Boston, Shute and Gay of Hingham, and Brown of Cohasset, were Unitarians. The famous Dr. Hopkins published, in 1768, a sermon on Hebrews iii. 1, upon "The Importance and Necessity of Christians considering Jesus Christ in the Extent of his high and glorious Character." The author says that he wrote the sermon "with a design to preach it in Boston, under a conviction that the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ was much neglected, if not disbelieved, by a number of the ministers of Boston." Nor were ministers the only heretics. President Adams adds to his statement just given: "Among the laity how many could I name, lawyers, physicians, tradesmen, and farmers. I could fill a sheet," &c. The "confiding people," among whom the Unitarians are charged with having secretly fostered their views, appear in some measure to have anticipated their teachers. Indeed, it is altogether probable that some societies, instead of having had their faith slowly undermined by an heretical minister, had, even under the teachings of sound Orthodoxy, liberalized their own opinions, and, after waiting patiently for a superannuated pastor with whom they did not accord to subside, had intelligently selected a successor with a view to his growth in an expanded creed. As this successor at his ordination resolutely refused to be catechized doctrinally, and as his church and council sustained him in his prerogative, the way was free to him, from the vague terms

of opinion on speculative points under which he had been educated, to real Unitarianism as the result of his own mature thought. Still, he might not know his opinions by that name, or the associations and adjuncts of that epithet might make him unwilling to assume it, as many to whom it really applies are unwilling to assume it now. But to visit upon the ministers at that crisis the whole odium of the progressive heresy of three generations, and then to seek to increase that odium by aggravating the prejudice connected with an ill-sounding epithet, was neither just nor kind.

Still another of those simple facts which a candid mind would find or use to relieve a class of honored men from the charge of an insidious inculcation and a wicked concealment of their opinions, now forces itself upon our notice. It was from the first, and always has been, an element of that general view of Christianity, which goes by the name of Unitarianism, that the substance of the Gospel and the materials for effective preaching are not found in the speculative points of theology,—the doctrines that were modified by the change of creeds. As this is one of the most characteristic and vital of the principles of Liberal Christianity, its disciples had a right to regard it and to act by it. The Orthodox party could not fairly hold them bound to throw contempt on their own most prominent principle by direct controversial preaching. The distinction between the two parties, as drawn by the stress laid by one of them and the disparagement cast by the other upon the importance of a class of doctrines, is a most fundamental distinction between them. If one who had entered the ministry as a Unitarian should become a decided Calvinist, the peculiar cast of his new views would more than modify, it would wholly alter, the tone and style of his preaching. But a minister who had begun his official course as a “moderate Calvinist” might gradually become a Unitarian, and the only indication of the change that would appear in his preaching might be that it was less *doctrinal* and more *practical*, in the technical sense of those words. Within the knowledge of most of us, of mature observation, are examples of Orthodox preachers who indicate their heretical liberality, not by asserting Unitarian views, but by their silence

upon the offensive peculiarities of Calvinism. Those wavering men of whom we are speaking had many secret struggles in their own privacy. The papers of several of them, examined after their death, have revealed how the writers went through the Bible to select and balance texts bearing upon disputed points. There are many affecting evidences of the reluctance with which they yielded to convictions pressing for recognition, as well as of the reluctance with which they yielded up tenets stamped with the authority of prescription, and tenderly associated with their own training in piety. That such men did not seek to stir a strife in their congregations, or to open another of those terrible feuds of faith which they knew to be so prejudicial to true religion, may be a token of their wisdom or a sign of their timidity, as their critics shall judge them. Still, the course which they pursued is not only consistent with sincerity, but was in itself one of the most essential elements, one of the most significant results, of the change through which they had passed. Attempts were indeed made by the Orthodox to prove that the doctrines which were renounced were of an eminently practical power. We can conceive that, if some of the doctrines of Calvinism were *believed* as we apply the word *belief* to common facts of life, they would have a tremendous practical influence; as, for instance, they would forbid any thorough disciple of them to become a parent, and would fill his heart with dreadful anticipations of the doom of some who are nearest to him. We can conceive, also, that if what the creed teaches of the fate of heathens were held with an intense conviction, the poor annual pittance raised by all Orthodox Christians for their relief, and which is not a thousandth part of the sum spent upon their luxuries and pleasures, would be increased a hundred-fold. Indeed, if the sincerity of the statement may relieve its apparent want of kindness, we will venture to say that the *practical power* theoretically attaching to the peculiarities of the Calvinistic creed does not seem to produce its practical *effects*. Charity, therefore, suggests, that there is something in the theory itself which averts or hinders the practical consequences that might be expected to result from it. Its believers do not appear and act, as we should feel obliged and impelled to appear

and act, if we *believed* it. "Is it of no importance," asked one who was arguing against us on this point, (*Spirit of the Pilgrims*, IV. 359,) "whether the God we worship exists in three persons or in one?" We answer, there is no possible way in which a man can make a Trinitarian belief on this subject appear in his character or his life. He must content himself with such a display of it as he can make in words,—in words, too, that must necessarily indicate confused and vague ideas. The truth is, that, in the most heated stage of the controversy, the Unitarians were considered by the Orthodox as bound to renounce Christianity, and to make proclamation that they had renounced it. This the Unitarians had no intention of doing. Nor were they swift to proclaim specifically and in terms, that in accepting a purer Christianity they had renounced former corruptions. For in doing the latter, they would be subjected by zealots, as the event proved, to the imputation of having done the former. They preached in favor of what they believed, rather than against what they rejected. Their concealment was mainly a concealment of strife.

In connection with the charge of artful concealment, numerous essays were written by the Orthodox in the early as well as in later stages of the controversy, to account for the origin and the extensive reception of Unitarian views. Some of the reasons given were ingenious, and more or less pertinent. But it is a singular fact, that we have never found a single statement on the Orthodox side of what was really *the* reason, the effective and sufficient reason, of the new heresy,—the reason which any intelligent Unitarian would have given if questioned by an Orthodox friend. The reason for the adoption and prevalence of Unitarianism was simply and solely the failure of Orthodoxy to satisfy the hearts and minds of a large number of serious-minded and religious persons in this community. This failure was a marked fact. Our brethren of the other party will never treat our predecessors justly, to say nothing of ourselves, till they make a manly and a candid recognition of this fact. Their controversy properly began among themselves. The poison whose alarming introduction they marvelled and mourned over, was an acrid humor generated by disease and decay in their own

system. Orthodoxy failed to retain the confidence, to feed the piety, to satisfy the hearts, of many of its own disciples. It failed to stand the test of a trial by the Scriptures, *instituted with a bias in its favor*, in all sincerity, earnestness, and ability, by competent men. Orthodoxy, to the dismay and regret of many of these anxious inquirers, was discovered to be unscriptural, — a human scheme, not a divine system of doctrine. We must insult all the usual features and evidences of sincerity, if we do not allow for this fact. To have recourse to other explanations of the revival and re-adoption of Unitarian views among Christians, while this fact is wholly blinked, is disingenuous in the extreme.

Doubtless the new sect embraced its full proportion of the superficial, the light-minded, the unregenerate, and the irreligious. The derogatory way in which its lax and tolerant features were drawn by some of its early enemies, led many to assume the name who were wholly destitute of faith and piety. But the new sect had also its men and women of sterling excellence, of real piety; cultivated, thoughtful, conscientious, cautious of judgment, slow of decision, but firm and well grounded in their conclusions. Multitudes of these from out of the very bosom of Orthodox churches, admitted to have been saints while within their covenants, have testified to the inexpressible relief which they found in Unitarian views, and to the deep and living impulses of devotion which they derived from them, after having faithfully, but in vain, tried to live in Orthodoxy. And this failure of Orthodoxy to retain its own domain, and to keep its own disciples, is the more remarkable, when we consider what advantages it had on its side. The whole prestige of existing institutions, forms, order, and authority was with it. Tradition, historical associations, living bonds of love, sacred ties to the departed, household affections, and the memories of early religious training, were with it; but all were insufficient to retain an allegiance which had been discredited by the failing confidence of its disciples. If no other solution of the fact can be found, we must conclude that God has so constituted some who wish to love him, and to understand his Word, and to comply with its demands, and to share its promises, that they cannot, while they are sane and honest, accept the

Calvinistic scheme. Calvinists reason as if they were sure that the Gospel offers no alternative between their system and actual infidelity, — as if there were no other possible form of the Christian faith but that of the Genevan. But, thank God, we are sure that they are wrong.

If it be asked why this exposure of the insufficiency and the unscriptural character of Orthodoxy was deferred to our age in the Christian era, we must content ourselves with dropping two suggestions in answer, — suggestions that might be dwelt upon at some length and proved satisfactory in meeting the case. First, for long centuries after the Augustine theology had established its sway, as a corruption of the simple Unitarianism of the primitive Church, attention was not concentrated upon the doctrinal constitution of Christianity, but was withdrawn to other aspects of it. Rome had exalted the hierarchical element and the extra-Scriptural element of tradition. The Reformers were chiefly engaged upon strictly ecclesiastical issues; they assailed the Pope, *the Church*, with its councils, its inventions, its tyrannies, and its corruptions. The English Puritans were brought into hostility with the sacerdotalism and the ritualism of Episcopacy. Independency both here and in England first brought the Gospel to a simple but severe trial by textual criticism of its doctrinal system. From the close of the fourth century this searching test had not been applied to it by this method. The second suggestion, bearing on the question just asked, reminds us of a fact very familiar to all Christian scholars, that Unitarianism has lain latent in all the ages of the Church; there have always been intimations of its presence and of its secret workings; it has cropped out here and there always. The names of an unbroken line of men linking together like a chain may be selected even from our scanty records, whose sympathies might be claimed for what is called Liberal Christianity. They are the names of men in Poland, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, Austria, Germany, France, and England, — men whose characters and attainments will bear a favorable comparison with those of any class associated by doctrinal belief or Christian sympathy. Unitarianism had its martyrs before the discovery and the colonization of these parts of the world. Its main and strong position in convic-

tion and argument always has been, not that it is simply a rational faith, but that it is the express, the positive, the literal exhibition of the doctrines taught in the Scriptures. Indeed, there are no more significant or commendatory features about Unitarianism, than are found, to our minds, in the occasions and the manner of its presence, and in the class of men who have embraced it, and in the method of its advocacy by them through all the ages of Christian history. It would require a subsidiary revelation to convince us that Jesus and his Apostles ever taught Calvinism. We can easily trace the incomings and the progress of Orthodoxy, and we know that it has been dissented from and protested against, under just such circumstances, and by just such men, and for just such reasons, and in just such ways, as accord with all the harmonies of history and reason.

Our sympathy does not go wholly with all of those who on our side carried on this controversy when it waxed fiercest. Positions were assumed which could not be sustained. Measures were adopted which we will not justify. Pamphlets were written which reflect shame on their authors, and to some extent on their cause. Leaving to candid reviewers on the Orthodox side to visit such censures upon the proceedings and the spirit of their own party as they may see reason to utter, we will not assume their office for them, but will pass our judgments only on our side. For ourselves we do not accord with much of the incidental argument used on our side of the controversy, and we regret the unchristian, the unfraternal spirit of the strife. We would not undertake to defend all those views of Scripture, nor all those assertions or negations of doctrine, advanced even by some leading Unitarians. We do not feel perfectly satisfied with the legal decisions in two cases bearing upon the ownership of church property, though we admit that the issue raised was quite a perplexing one.

One who candidly reviews this controversy, even with his prejudices and convictions strongly on the liberal side of it, can hardly fail to be impressed with the seeming coolness, we might almost say the *nonchalance*, or the superciliousness and effrontery even, with which some Unitarians took for granted that the great change in religious opinions and methods advocated by them

could perfect and establish itself in this community as a matter of course. Some Unitarians wrote and talked as if in utter amazement that Orthodoxy should presume to say a word for itself in arrest of judgment, or as a plea for continued right of possession where it had lived and ruled so long. The most assured and confident and intolerant of the new party did not scruple to declare that Orthodoxy was past apologizing for, and ought to retire as gracefully as possible, with the bats and owls. It was only after some considerable surprise and mortification, that such supercilious disputants were induced to entertain a reconsideration of the whole issue, as the adherents to the old system rallied to its defence, and, in the lack of sufficient champions here, imported a Philistine giant from Connecticut. Other Unitarians, who did not fully yield themselves to the conceit of an easy and unchallenged victory, were more or less alive to the fact that there must at least be death-struggles on the part of Orthodoxy, even if more formidable manifestations did not give proof of its tenacity of life and of its unabated vigor. These more considerate judges of the strength and the alliances of long-established views, were secured from those exhibitions of arrogance and unconcern which were especially galling to the serious-minded among the Orthodox. This spirit of contempt to which we have referred would have alleged, in its justification, the prevailing indifference, the lethargy, the disgust, that attached to Orthodoxy in this community. It would have pleaded, that what so many had outgrown, and discredited, and despised, and what others still believed was spreading an alarming amount of infidelity over the land, deserved no courtesy or forbearance of treatment. The coarseness and virulence and dogmatism of some of the Orthodox champions would doubtless be made, indeed they were made, the justification of some of our own partisans whom we cannot honor. The petty and vexatious artifices, the gnats and wasps of controversy, evidently were very provocative of ill passions among the Unitarians. The arrogant denial to them of the Christian name; the attempt to confound them by putting quotations from their writings into parallelisms from the writings of Tom Paine; the mean effort to foreclose the issue by a monopolizing of the epithet *Evangelical*, and

by a constant use of the phrase "the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel," as if by simply insisting upon their identity with Calvinistic doctrines the question might be decided by being begged; — these offences, together with sundry shocking perversions of Scripture, as in the wicked application to Unitarians, for denying the Messiah to be God, of those words of Peter which refer to the faithless deceivers of the first age, "denying the Lord that bought them," — these offences were strong provocations to some of our predecessors. One of our own editors was moved to write the remonstrating words: "Let our characters be spared. We are not infidels. We are Christians, with the most sincere conviction of the truth of our religion, and with a deep sense of its inestimable value. We do not deny the Lord who bought us," &c.*

These irritating and odious strokes of bigotry, which were not intended for argument, but as evasions and substitutes for it, addressed to prejudice and designed to foreclose an issue that should have been calmly and seriously debated, excited much acrimony. We can estimate the force which these aggravations then had by the occasional recourse which is even now made to the same unworthy arts to help in giving Unitarianism a bad name. That some of its early advocates should have been put out of temper by this ill usage is but natural. Still, candor compels us to say that some prominent advocates of Unitarianism conceived too lightly of the resistance they might expect to meet, and were not sufficiently aware of the revolutionary character of their own views. For Unitarianism did in fact involve a radical change of opinion and practice as to the true theory of the Gospel and the method of its dispensation. Only as one carefully and in detail compares the views, the usages, the tone, and the measures connected with religious offices by the two now existing parties among the Congregationalists, will he really appreciate the matter and the amount of this change. Orthodoxy is more intense, systematic, and pointed in its whole substance and in all its methods, than is Unitarianism, when under their respective organizations they represent types of

* *Christian Disciple*, for 1819, p. 139.

religious belief or modes of religious action. Orthodoxy has sharp, well-defined, elaborate, and systematic standards for its disciples. Unitarianism is loose, vague, general, indeterminate in its elements and formularies. Orthodoxy commits the charge and the direction of its institutions to those pledged believers who, as communicants, constitute the avowed and available strength of its doctrinal fellowship. Unitarianism, conceiving that in a nominally Christian community all its respectable members may be considered as in a degree influenced by Christian convictions and purposes, extends its trusts and responsibilities through a whole religious society or congregation. Orthodoxy makes account of crises and temporary devices and periodical excitements. Unitarianism wishes to avoid all schemes and spasmodic action. Orthodoxy bands its disciples, assesses them, sets them at work, appoints committees to inquire after new-comers, in many places confines its patronage within its own communion, is apt to know "the faith" of applicants for schools, and will not always divide its sympathies and honors among those from whom it asks money and other aid. Unitarianism dislikes such agencies and intrigues. Orthodoxy is sacrificial. Unitarianism is moral. The intensity which characterizes the Orthodox system, and the laxity which is manifest in the Unitarian system, might be traced in all their respective doctrines and methods. The difference, though in some points trifling and hardly distinguishable, appears in others to be of exceeding importance. It could hardly be possible, therefore, for the milder system to displace the more rigid system in any community, without the visible tokens of a revolution. If the processes and results of this change should be followed up through its effects on feelings, habits, prejudices, interests, and cherished convictions, it will at once appear that it must have been burdened with dislikes and pointed with pains for many excellent persons. This fact, we say, some of the Unitarians made too light of. They did not estimate it and allow for it as they ought to have done. They did not try to soften, soothe, or conciliate the sufferings which it involved, and the opposition which it aroused. Some Unitarians did not treat, as became Christians, with respectful tenderness and with filial rev-

erence, the faith and convictions which had been rooted in the hearts and honored in the churches of New England.

Nor is it to be disguised that the type of character formed by unrelieved and unqualified Orthodoxy, when it intensified its peculiarities, was not attractive to a Unitarian. Puritanism always was an uncomfortable neighbor to all who were not Puritans. We can admire and respect, almost to the border of a reverential homage, the heroic virtues, the dauntless spirit, and the enthralling soul of piety in our orthodox ancestry. But we feel that they need some set-off or concomitant from persecution, exile, or romance, some hill-side lurkings, some ocean risks, some wilderness trials, some prison straits, to fix our attention upon the severities of their lot that it may be withdrawn from the severities of their creed. We love Puritanism while it is in its process of purification by fire, prison, or banishment, and the sharper its pains, the softer and sweeter is its spirit. Nor can it be gainsaid that the Puritan creed needs such methods to secure disciples, to make them genial and of high soul while they live, and the subjects of an admiring reverence when they enter into stories of the past. All Puritanical persons ought to be pioneers and missionaries, and the more remote their sphere, and the harder their work, the worthier they would be, and the better we should like them. But living Puritans in prosperous, quiet times, are something different. When, after the softening influences of a quiet course of life, the strain of early zeal was relaxed, and the tenets of a severe creed were keenly examined, then it was manifest that there were Christian men and women here who could no longer come up to the rigid standard of the old piety. The fact presented itself in many little signs and tokens, as well as in some very serious exhibitions of a modifying influence that had long been at work in this community. When the effects of this change were brought together and commented upon, they admitted of being very easily exaggerated and misrepresented, as well as of being very severely censured by those who wished to retain the old forms and methods. The tone and phraseology of public prayers were changed. The old custom of supplicating the Deity in specific and almost dictato-

rial terms for the sick, the convalescent, the afflicted, and those going on journeys, was greatly modified. Children ceased to be taken directly from the womb into the meeting-house for baptism, and parents began to shrink from a public return of their thanks for such blessings, and a public supplication for more. The style of sermon-writing yielded to the weariness which impugned the old fashion, — of turning over the leaves of the Bible from beginning to end in what was little more than a culling of texts, — and brought in the modern fashion of writing after the manner of an essay on a Scripture or religious theme. The mode of keeping Sunday was relaxed. Extra meetings and evening lectures, which old persons in both parties equally objected to, were adopted first by the Orthodox, and then, after fruitless complaint, by the Unitarians. The custom of making a severe inquisition into the religious experience of candidates for the communion was set aside. Church discipline for heresy and private sin was less frequent. Some discriminations were adopted in the way of using and quoting from the Bible, — discriminations which honest criticism and common sense proved to be necessary, and yet perfectly consistent to a reasonable mind with the highest practical value assigned to the Bible as a whole. Here then were various tests and tokens for the designation of two parties among the Congregationalists. The one party was called Liberal. The other party remained rigid, and seemed to try to become more rigid, by clinging to the shadows of things whose substance had passed away, and by assuming the championship of a form of piety which belonged to another age, and to quite another class of characters. Now it was the assumption of this type of piety by those whom it did not become, simply because it was not theirs, which was very unattractive, not to say exceedingly repulsive, to Unitarians. It had lost all its living characteristics, its realities as embodied in the style of thought, demeanor, conviction, and life, and was driven to make its manifestation in words alone, — in what was said and written. To have their neighbors, who in real character and course of life showed no grace above others, who were just as devoted to thrift and prosperity, just as eager for good bargains, just as worldly and faulty, just as censorious and imperfect, yet

professing to be "saints by calling," successors to stern old Puritans, heirs of the covenant, and sealed by God's spirit for a life of eternal bliss, because they held the five sharp points of an old creed of man's devising, and had passed through some mysterious inward change, in proof of which they could give nothing but their own assertions, — this experience, we say, was not of a sort to make the advocates of Orthodoxy very amiable in the eyes of Unitarians. When two parties who, as far as the eye of man can see or know, stand upon the same level of piety, intelligence, earnestness, and sincerity of purpose, are seeking to decide between them questions of Scripture truth, if the one party assume to itself the title of "the friends of Christ," it can hardly be supposed that the other party will accept very graciously the title which by construction is assigned to them of "the enemies of Christ." Nor did it tend to conciliate matters that the Orthodox freely wrote and spoke of the Unitarians as "the worldly party," the patrons of the theatre, the lovers of balls, festivities, dress, amusements, and other gayeties. Good sense, however, and "that common human nature," which has been found to attach to human beings independently of their creed, soon settled these not very dignified elements of the controversy. It has been made to appear that what is called "worldliness" of this sort is rather a token of one's social position, pecuniary means, and private tastes, than of his religious character. Certainly, in this community, at least, it would be difficult to establish a superiority in any Christian grace or excellence as having attached peculiarly to those who have *opposed* Unitarianism. Sensible persons of both parties have accorded in the conclusion, that the grave questions of Christian doctrine which are at issue between them are not to be settled by calling hard names.

Turning from this survey of the past, we attempt to sum up its results as in our own judgment they bear upon the present relations of parties. Endeavoring to exercise that degree of candor and impartiality of which we may be supposed to be capable while our sympathies favor one of these parties, we will venture to express plainly what we really think. Unitarianism has relatively failed in comparison with Orthodoxy at one point

which should be paramount with a truly Christian denomination ; and Unitarianism has met with eminent success, and has secured a triumph significant of further results, in a direction in which it has spent the strength of many earnest efforts.

Unitarianism has proved itself inferior to Orthodoxy as a working power, a method of presenting and applying the Gospel so as to engage the enthusiasm, the zeal, the hearty, devoted service of its disciples in devising eminently Christian schemes, and in carrying on great religious enterprises. The "coldness" with which the Orthodox have charged us we have felt, and instead of denying a plain, manifest truth, we prefer the grace of frankly acknowledging it. We cannot gather our strength and bring it to bear effectually in a great religious movement. Opportunities have slipped through our hands. Interests which we might have strengthened we have sacrificed. We have sustained many noble benevolent agencies, but the element which has been lacking to their cheerful, vigorous, and most Christian efficacy, is the very element which our views in their working processes have not yet developed. We do not connect the fountain-head of all evangelical power and motive and impulse with a hundred little ramifying conduits to bear it among the different classes of the community, as do our Orthodox brethren. We do not distinguish between the means necessary to foster piety in the home, the school, the literary and benevolent association, the church, and the congregation. The differences of opinion and the alienations of sympathy which exist among the Orthodox are smothered up when they make any public anniversary exhibition of their sectarian or Christian purposes ; but with us, such differences and alienations form the very staple of debate at our conventions, and make up the report of our "doings" published to the world. If any two of us walking arm in arm on one side of a street should find that we perfectly accored in opinion, we should feel bound to separate instantly, and the strife would be as to which should get the start in crossing ; and this is true in spite of the fact that there is more real harmony, fraternal feeling, and mutual regard between our brethren, with all their amazing individualism, than among the ministers of any other sect

in Christendom. Yet we cannot bring our forces to bear as do the Orthodox in combined zeal and earnestness of purpose. We have no pass-words, we have no connecting wires, no electricity to traverse them if we had them. It may be said that this confession only admits our failure in comparison with Orthodoxy at the very point in which Protestantism fails in comparison with Romanism, which leagues its forces and displays a working power in methods and ramifications of energy of a kind to amaze us all. This plea, however, will not cover more than about half of our relative lack, and will still leave a balance against us in reckoning for our comparative inefficiency, in the use of what we allege are more legitimate and more consistent Christian weapons, against worldliness and sin and impiety and coldness of heart. Unitarianism has certainly exhibited some marked deficiency, either of power, or of skill, or of ingenuity, or of enthusiasm. For ourselves, we should not admit this to be an absolute failure from a cause inherent in our system of doctrines, or our mode of interpreting the Gospel. We are at perfect liberty to improve on our methods, and the same main-spring which is the motive power to all Christian hearts may move us, though we have not yet learnt how most wisely to regulate and dispose the mechanism which connects it with the world around us. We are satisfied in our own minds that we have been at fault in the mode in which we have *dispensed* the Gospel, not in the mode in which we have received it.

The point at which Unitarianism has secured an eminent victory, in realizing the sure success and the prospective universal triumph of its foundation principle, is in its dethronement of dogmatism in religion, — that dogmatism which insists upon confining the power of the Gospel to a metaphysical system of doctrines set forth by man as the exponent of revealed truths. Unitarianism has inflicted a death-blow upon this dogmatism, which was the deadliest vice of Protestantism, because utterly inconsistent with its own charter of liberties, and fatal to its own dissent from authority. Unitarianism has had an immeasurable effect upon Orthodoxy in this one direction. Orthodox preaching is in some quarters so qualified in its general character, that

if it sounds to the ear as its printed specimens utter themselves to our hearts and minds, we should be quite content to listen to it in several places. When we read in the controversial pamphlets of a half-century ago the positive assertions made by Orthodoxy, — that all which we retain of the Gospel is as nothing compared with the importance of what we reject, that all the sublime revelations, the spiritual truths, the divine precepts, and the heavenward promises of Scripture are lighter in the scale of faith than the dogmas of John Calvin, — and then turn to the pages of the eminent Orthodox writers of the present day, we stand amazed at the change. True, some lean and querulous and stingy souls still give forth their dreary or petulant utterances, but they are not the ones that win a large hearing, or speak for their party. The tone and matter of Dr. Edward Beecher's "Conflict of Ages," compared with the sulphurous preaching of his now venerable father, when he was the leader in revival meetings about this neighborhood, tells an interesting tale of the work that has been wrought here in the interval between the father's manhood and that of the son. True, the very problematical hypothesis by which the son has sought to relieve the Orthodox dogma of its dogmatism, is but a poor device. But he is not to blame for that, as he did the best he could; better indeed than could have been expected, for in assailing one dogma he has not substituted another. The two Orthodox men who now have the most influence over the higher class of minds to which Orthodoxy is to look for its advocacy in the next generation, are Professor Park and Dr. Bushnell, men of brilliant genius, of shining gifts, of eminent devotion, and of towering ability, and regarded by large circles of friends with profound regard and confidence. Those two noble expositors of truth as they receive it have added a century of vigorous life to many Orthodox churches around us, and have deferred the final dismay of that system for at least the same period of time. Professor Park's Convention Sermon is, in our judgment, one of the most remarkable and instructive pieces in all our religious literature. For subtlety, skill, power, richness of diction, pointedness of subject, and implications of deep things lying behind its utterances, it is a marvellous gem of beauties and of

brilliant. Dr. Bushnell's writings, in some sentences unintelligible to our capacity, and in some points inexplicable as to their meaning, are rich in their revelations of a free and earnest spirit engaged upon themes which keep him struggling between the wings that lift him and the withes that bind him. Those two honored men have relieved Orthodoxy in some of its most offensive metaphysical enigmas. How have they blunted the five points of Calvinism! How have they reduced the subtle and perplexing philosophy of the Westminster Catechism, by the rich rhetoric with which they have mitigated its physic into a gentle homœopathy! Unitarianism aimed thus to abate and soften religious dogmatism. It has succeeded; and the noblest element in its success is, that it must divide the honor with champions from the party of its opponents.

And now what is Unitarianism? It might seem as if this question presented to us the hardest element in the task which we have assumed. Unitarianism, as it has been popularly represented and received, and, indeed, as it has been set forth in any promiscuous collection of its voluminous literature, may seem to be a most undefined form of theology. Yet we insist that its essential principles are very few and very well determined, so that it is at least as definite a system as is that which goes by the name of Orthodoxy. There has been a wonderful variety in the range, the methods, and the results adopted by separate expounders and advocates of the essential principles of Unitarianism, simply because with their Unitarianism they have had a philosophy, or an idiosyncrasy, or a love of speculation, or a habit of mind or feeling, which they might have had in connection with any other form of religious opinion. Indeed, nothing would be easier to a skilful opponent than to gather from our literature a most astonishing array of inconsistent admissions, limitations, and definitions, and to infer from them that the sect is but a rope of sand, each individuality of which was composed only of angles, and sharp ones too. "What do Unitarians believe?" is a question which has perplexed many who felt bound to answer it when put to them, while it has been made to point ridicule or censure against its friends. How much of all this variety and inconsistency of belief and exposition is

to be accounted to the reasonable necessities, the first principles, the essential terms, involved in the action of independent minds upon the subjects of faith, and upon the Scriptures which furnish its materials, only a very considerate judgment is competent to decide. How far these individual eccentricities reflect a prejudice on Unitarianism, is a matter for the confident to pronounce upon while the prudent are reserved.

In the antagonistic and apologetic position into which Unitarians were driven, they naturally dealt much with denials. In assailing dogmatism they had to assail doctrines; and in assailing doctrines they left many positive points of faith common to them and to other Christians to win something of their own assurance without a positive advocacy in their congregations. In the mean time the Orthodox party were fond of representing Unitarianism in its *minimum* of substance and of life. While we were saying, Such a verse of Scripture, or such a doctrine, means "only this," or "only that," — the Orthodox added, "Unitarians believe only this," or "only that." Saying nothing about the false view of our own position and aims which we may sometimes have been negligent in averting or correcting, if not instrumental in producing, the Orthodox, it must be asserted, have succeeded in fixing a reproach upon us in many quarters. Their polemical literature has had such a prevailing character of abuse and misrepresentation towards us, that many of their own communions have been greatly misled by it. Again, while we have suffered the utmost disadvantages of being a sect, we have never turned into sectarian channels the real strength of our fellowship. From the very first, a sectarian name, a sectarian organization, and a sectarian association were strenuously opposed by some of the most prominent Unitarians in this community. The "Association" has never engaged the hearty sympathy or the efficient aid of a quarter part of our real numbers. The formation of Unitarian societies in some of our towns and villages, where there seemed to be an opening for them, was discountenanced, on the ground that it was better for "liberal persons" to retain their connection with the Orthodox societies, with the expectation of gradually relaxing bigotry and modifying the creed. Some able men who have won distinction



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and place through the controversy, have not been emulous of repaying the favor by any show of sectarian zeal. In one sense, we seemed to begin to decline the moment we began to try to strengthen ourselves. The Unitarian sect has hindered the progress of Unitarianism. The softened aspects and manifestations of Orthodoxy, the bad name attached to us, and the dread of loosing from old moorings, with various local and family attachments, and the diminished prestige of mere preaching to many persons, who say "they will listen to, and believe what portion of it they please, and let the rest go," — these and other reasons which might be mentioned retain in other communions thousands and thousands of persons who are really Unitarians, unwittingly or consciously. In an early page of our own journal, we find the words: "We cannot help believing, that, but for the existence of a Unitarian sect, there could be no obstacle, among a free, intelligent, and inquisitive people like ours, to the rapid and universal prevalence of Unitarianism itself."* The inference would seem to be, that Orthodoxy has been, in times past certainly, a more efficient agency in promoting Unitarian sentiment, than has a positive Unitarian sectarianism, with its imperfect methods, and the lack of sympathy on the part of its friends, and the resisting measures which it has provoked. And this we take to be about the truth, as nearly as it can be stated in a brief way. Unitarianism came in when nothing was done for it; but it is not as effective an agent in its own behalf as are circumstances, occasions, and emergencies working in the natural course of things, and after the methods of a complicated issue between truth and error. Wherever there is a propitious union of strong religious feeling and of intelligence, in proportions and measurements that we will not attempt to define, there always has been, and there always will be, Unitarianism, in every age of the Christian Church, and in every spot of the earth.

These suggestions might seem only still more to embarrass an attempt to answer the question, "What is Unitarianism?" In one sense they do so; but in another sense they help us to answer the question, as all

* Christian Examiner, September, 1830, p. 19.

these suggestions must be kept in our minds as indicating the elements that enter into the Unitarian view of the substance and the significance of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. A proportion, we think a large proportion, of those who through force of one or another reason retain a nominal connection with the Orthodox Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, the Baptists, and the Episcopalians, in places where Unitarianism has uttered itself through books or pulpits, have degrees of sympathy with it which needs only to be better defined to become much stronger. We consider that it is of about equal importance to insist upon what we have in common with other Christian denominations, and upon the points which put us into opposition with them. Unitarianism stands in direct and positive opposition to Orthodoxy on three great doctrines, which Orthodoxy teaches, with emphasis, as vital to its system ; namely, that the nature of human beings has been vitiated, corrupted, and disabled, in consequence of the sin of Adam, for which God has in judgment doomed our race to suffering and woe ; that Jesus Christ is God, and therefore an object of religious homage and prayer ; and that the death of Christ is made effectual to human salvation by reconciling God to man, and satisfying the claims of an insulted and outraged law. Unitarianism denies that these are doctrines of the Gospel, and offers very different doctrines, sustained by Scripture, in their place.

The rejection of these three Orthodox doctrines, and the belief of those which Unitarians substitute for them, constitutes Unitarianism. All the rest of Christianity is common ground between us and other denominations. On all other matters of Christian doctrine a Unitarian may be in entire accordance with the general views of the Orthodox, and yet be not one whit less a Unitarian. We do not say, that Unitarians, as a class, are in entire accordance with the Orthodox on all other doctrines, but that there is nothing in their Unitarianism to hinder that accordance. As regards the inspiration of the Scriptures ; the special design and agency of the Gospel, as a Divine and miraculously attested scheme and a remedial provision for the redemption of men ; the necessity of regeneration, or a change of heart, wrought and attested by the Spirit of God ; justification by faith ;

the present mediatorial work of Jesus Christ in behalf of his Church and upon the soul and the life of a believer; revivals of religion, and the doctrine of future retribution; — as regards all these doctrines, there is nothing in the essential and characteristic substance of Unitarianism which puts a disciple of it into antagonism with Orthodoxy. There are Unitarians who hold the Orthodox views on all these doctrines, because they regard them as Christian doctrines. The issue between us and Orthodoxy does not, and never did, involve any necessary collision or variance on these points. At the opening of the controversy, it seemed as if the whole substance of the Gospel, and every ingredient of it, were under debate between us and the Orthodox, and many times and in many ways was it asserted, that the question between the two parties was that of a Gospel or no Gospel. Discussion has brought our differences within the range of three doctrines. As to the fundamental tenets of Orthodoxy already mentioned, Unitarianism in a strongly antagonistic position maintains the following: —

1. That human beings do not inherit from Adam a ruined nature; that there is no transfer from his guilt made to us, inflicting upon us a moral inability; that our relation to God has not been prejudiced by his fall; that life is not a foregone conclusion with any one of us when it begins; that we have not been condemned as a race, but shall be judged as individuals.

2. That, whatever be the rank of Jesus Christ in the scale of being, and whatever be his nature, he is not presented to us in the Scriptures as the Supreme God, or as a fractional part of the Godhead; therefore he is not the source, but is the channel, of Divine grace; he is not the object of our homage or our prayers, nor the ultimate object of our dependence and trust, but fulfils his highest work for us when he leads us on to the Father.

3. That the Scriptures do not lay the emphatic stress of Christ's redeeming work upon his death, above or apart from his life, character, and doctrine; and that his death as an element in his redeeming work is made effective for human salvation through its influence on the heart and the life of man, not through its vicarious value with God, nor through its removal of an abstract difficulty in the Divine government, which hin-

ders the forgiveness of the penitent without further satisfaction.

Unitarianism defined a position in direct and complete antagonism to Orthodoxy on these three points, and on no others. On these three points Unitarianism has resolutely held its ground, and intends to hold it, firmly and without yielding a hair's breadth. Orthodoxy has been during the half-century reconsidering its position as regards one or another of these three points, modifying, qualifying, and abating its dogmatic statement of its three primary doctrines.

Now, if there has been any tendency to harmony and accordance of opinion and reconciliation of differences between the two parties, it is to be referred either to a recognition of sympathies, and a common belief in the other doctrines of the Gospel, in the realm of Christian truth and faith which was not appropriated exclusively by the Orthodox or by the Unitarians, or else to the fact that the Orthodox have a better appreciation of the strength of our position, and of the dubiousness of their own position, on the three points of doctrine just stated.

We propose in successive papers to deal with those three great doctrinal issues, and also with the question as to the proper view of the Scriptures, and the mode of treating them and of criticising and expounding them, so far as the question has entered into the controversy. We hope thus to gather some of the best fruits of a half-century of sharp but not unprofitable strife between brethren.

G. E. E.

ART. VI. — MR. THACKERAY AS A NOVELIST.*

RECREATIVE books disarm criticism. It seems quite ungracious to note the demerits of an author who has beguiled care of its weariness or convalescence of its depression, who has filled up agreeably an otherwise listless hour, and perhaps cheered the mind when incapable of

* *The Newcomes. Memoirs of a Most Respectable Family.* Edited by Arthur Pendennis, Esq. In two volumes. New York: Harper and Brothers.

seeking needful diversion abroad ; and yet, if there is one class of works more than another which it is specially desirable to estimate correctly, it is that included under the generic name of popular fiction. If this department of literature does not reflect, it in a degree moulds the age ; and, at all events, bears an intimate relation to the modes of thought, the standard of taste, and the tone of feeling that prevail ; hence, though perhaps the least important species of writing in the private estimation of the philosopher and the scholar, it is the most so in the view of the humanitarian and the social critic. Let those who first enjoyed novel-reading under the auspices of Mrs. Radcliffe, Miss Edgeworth, or Sir Walter Scott, revert to the original impressions and the subsequent influence of either of these writers upon their consciousness, and the actual significance of popular fiction as regards the individual will be felt and acknowledged. The truth is, that it is through vivid and fascinating pictures of human life, through the adventures of some hero or the sentiment of some heroine, that we usually image our own career, or, at least, first shape our ideal of what it should be. The "beings of the mind" with whom we form associations of sympathy, unconsciously become models and exemplars ; by them we are apt to judge our fellow-creatures, and may either confirm or unsettle our faith in human disinterestedness, loyalty, and aspiration. The characters in our favorite novels are like the gallery of master-pieces to the young artist's vision ; they become permanent by representation. By them we illustrate the real characters we encounter in actual life ; they are standards, precedents, types, ranging from the psychological traits of Shakespeare's immortal creations to the flesh-and-blood humanities of Fielding. Is it too much to assert, on the authority of reminiscence, that Hamlet made us love introspection, Parson Adams honest warmth, and Uncle Toby benevolent simplicity, to the degree of emulation ? The least susceptible and imaginative will doubtless admit, that, whatever the practical effect, such genuine characters become no unimportant part of our treasury of knowledge, every allusion to which in after life brings a certain refreshment with it, like the memory of youth, and that the monomania of Don Quixote was but the extreme phase of an experience with which all readers of romance are in a measure familiar.

It is on account of this enduring and personal agency of the gifted novelist, that it becomes requisite to examine his claims by a more comprehensive test than the direct moral of his story, or the degree of cleverness it manifests; the one may be unexceptionable and the other superlative, yet the work itself a caricature or a paradox, and therefore untrue as a reflection of life, and of quite secondary value as a product of art. There is often a perverse mood in genius that leads to the choice of subjects which it only irritates or revolts the mind to contemplate, or to such a treatment of more legitimate themes as distorts and renders grotesque the facts of nature. In both instances the execution may be faultless, but this only renders the incongruity more offensive. If a painter confines talents of a high order to the most exquisitely true delineation of reptiles, anatomical preparations, or monstrosities, he ought not to complain if lovers of art decline adorning their rooms with the similitude of what is repugnant *per se*. Art, whether literary or pictorial, must either instruct, please, or elevate, or it transcends its province; it is essentially conservative, and aims to keep alive sentiments which the world too often blasts,—to refresh the senses with beauty, the heart with love, and the imagination with grand, heroic, tender, and venerable images. When this divine office of art is degraded to the level of artificial life, the prolongation of the very state of mind which it is destined to combat, the reproduction of the most transient and vapid types of humanity and phases of society, it is false to its own end. Is not something, it may be asked, due to truth and the sense of the ridiculous? Are we to have no flats, viragoes, and snobs? Undoubtedly; but these can but serve as foils to nobler specimens, or the picture loses all verisimilitude. When they constitute the majority, with only the leaven of a generous *roué* or a kind spinster, the key-note is too monotonous, the scene too dreary, the *dramatis personæ* too repulsive for renewed acquaintance; and we say with the poet of the indifferent spirits in hell, "*Non ragionam di lor, ma guarda e passa.*"

Mr. Thackeray early in life manifested peculiar talent as a draughtsman, and such was his original proclivity for art, that, like our own Irving, he at one time seriously thought of adopting it as a pursuit. Had the American

sketcher substituted the pencil for the pen, he would have given us charming pieces of humor and grace, like the best of his friend Leslie's, and we should have had the "Pride of the Village," a Dutch Governor, or Van Tassal's Supper, on canvas, instead of in the printed Sketch-Book. Had the English satirist clung to limning, he would have made a fine cross between Hogarth and Cruikshank. In both instances, the choice of literature as a medium has not altered the idiosyncrasies of either. Irving writes the gentle sentiments, the refined fantasies, and humorous genialities he would have painted; and Thackeray instinctively seizes on the broad follies and selfish instincts of human nature to exaggerate them like the caricaturist, and to reflect them in all their bitter reality, like the "Marriage à la Mode," and the "Rake's Progress." All shrewd observers of life attest the profound truth of these latter illustrations of that perennial Vanity Fair which goes on in the world; their graphic irony is as true as it is tragical. Hogarth, in his way, all confess to be a wonderful artist; but what proportion do the scenes he thus depicts bear to the whole panorama of human life? How far may his characters be justly regarded as representatives of humanity? Let a spectator of average experience and sensibility pass a morning at the Vernon Gallery, where many of this stern painter's originals hang; he examines their significant touches, and feels that the hypocrisy, dissoluteness, *ennui*, and mercenary hardihood bred in the hot-bed of cities and the atmosphere of unprincipled fashion, are here aptly shadowed forth, with a minute and haggard fidelity that makes him shudder. He pays a sincere tribute to the keen observation and the pictorial skill of the artist; he mournfully acknowledges that such things are, and have found their adequate reporter on canvas; but he soon turns away from these extreme depravities to the fresh and frank scenes of rustic life, to the pensive tenderness of holy maternity, the angelic smile of martyrs, the noble aspect of reformers, heroes, pioneers of science, devotees of truth, to childhood's unconscious loveliness, to the ample brows of poets whose fame is cushioned in the hearts of nations, to the candid, generous mariner, the fearless explorer of new continents, the sweet groups of faithful households, to men vital with earnestness and integrity,

and women beautiful through love and duty; and, thus reassured, he surveys the field of life conscious of an infinite possibility of good, alive to the scope it yields to usefulness and honor, nerved with high resolve, and cheered by moral beauty. Were it not for these high and consoling lessons of art, that satiric interior — where husband and wife yawn and quarrel, where improvidence trembles in the midst of splendor, and satiety collapses heart and features into imbecile mockery of manhood — would dwarf and blacken the world to his gaze, justify monastic isolation, and make his soul utterly distrustful of its best instincts. It is not healthful, then, to dwell upon and fraternize with even the truest pictures of life, if they exclusively tend to keep in view its mechanical level, and to strip it of heaven-born illusions. Would it help one's digestion to watch the formation of chyle in a transparent stomach; or add to our enjoyment of "familiar faces" to think of them habitually despoiled of flesh? Yet the solution of food and the skeleton framework underlie the most elegant form and features; only the Great Artist has veiled both. Byron calls Crabbe "Nature's sternest painter, yet the best"; but his pictures are softened by their very exactitude; he introduces a Flemish still-life that seems to relieve the human misery by the harmonized picturesqueness of the whole. Thackeray adopts a certain quality, as, for instance, selfish toadyism in Major Pendennis, arrogance in the Countess of Kew, effeminate hypocrisy in Honeyman, parental idolatry in Colonel Newcome, improvidence in Frederick Bayham, love of art in young Ridley, lion-hunting in Mrs. Jobson, etc., and these he carries out with little attempt at that modification and versatility which belong to real characters. It is on the same principle that the caricaturist exaggerates the peculiar features, and Punch so long made capital out of the Duke of Wellington's nose. There is not the least difficulty in identifying Thackeray's characters, because they invariably exhibit a generic quality, — Lady Ann Newcome silliness, De Florac gallantry, Mrs. Mackenzie domestic stratagem, etc. In real life we invariably find prominent traits blended with others which neutralize and vary their effect; to seize on a salient point, either in character or personal appearance, and exhibit it in various phases, is to caricature, whether

in print or with the crayon; and this is precisely what Thackeray does, — often with inimitable skill, usually in an amusing way; but the nature of the process implies a sketch rather than a complete study. His personages come and go with a costume, a mode of expression, an air, which renders them individual to the mind's eye, — Dobbin with his splay feet, the Colonel with bamboo and cheroot, Clive with moustache and shirt-studs; yet so limited is the part they play, so uniform the *rôle*, that, instead of becoming fixed in the memory as creatures of flesh and blood, like Dr. Primrose, Sancho Panza, and Dick Swiveller, we remember them as we do clever actors, who play a familiar part with unvarying consistency, but otherwise have so little substance that they retain but a histrionic existence to our consciousness. Major Pendennis, Colonel Newcome, and Becky Sharp may be deemed exceptions. They have more to do and say, and therefore become more real. The latter is well sustained, if incessant obedience to a shrewd, self-seeking instinct be any test of consistency; but the change which occurs in the good Colonel's temper is scarcely natural. To make a benevolent, simple, yet proud man so utterly lose his good sense, kindliness, and self-respect, after having maintained them sixty years, is not to be reconciled with perfect sanity. Still the Colonel redeems the history of the "Respectable Family" to which he belongs; for few readers of good feeling and true discernment would have the patience to go through that voluminous record consecutively, but would linger only over the pleasant episodes of foreign travel and well-written bits of agreeable moralizing interspersed through the dreary doings of a set of people whose talk and behavior are half the time intolerable, though so admirably described, were it not for the kind, honest, fatherly old Thomas Newcome. Yet, with his usual perversity, our author must needs at last dash with servile acrimony the original sweetness of this genial specimen of poor human nature. Though apparently remorseful, he mellowes this craven humor to religious humility at last, under that least dignified of earthly trials, the persecution of a shrew. There is a certain Saxon flavor and colloquial ease in Mr. Thackeray's best writing, which forms his chief literary attraction, and is the combined result of a

familiarity with good English literature and an absence of that conventional erudition which is so apt to give a pedantic tinge to style. This verbal felicity and an eye for the dramatic and picturesque in life, especially its hard and superficial manifestations, constitute his equipment; and it is by virtue of these that he reproduces so much that comes home to the average associations of that large portion of readers who live in the habitual fear of Mrs. Grundy, and are the passive disciples of routine. Their enjoyment of the special range of human nature and social life, of which he yields such vivid glimpses, is, in no small degree, the result of egotism; it is quite a discovery to them that the common round of fashionable follies and domestic *ennui* can be made the staple of a novel; "but," to use the language of an earnest writer in reference to the justification of suicide, "the abiding injury is to the most august interest which for the mind of man can have any existence, namely, to his own nature; to raise and dignify which, I am persuaded, is the first, last, and holiest command which the conscience imposes on the scientific moralist."

Within the sphere of Mr. Thackeray's chosen field, there is abundant scope for representing the earnest side of life, and the disinterested and humane sympathies. Contemporaneous literary biography furnishes revelations of moral courage, self-devotion, and psychological mysteries in the experience of modern London authors, which infinitely surpass in merely narrative interest the liveliest scenes in which Pen and Warrington figure. What a halo of pathos and geniality surrounds the real portraits of Keats and Shelley, Crabbe and Lamb, De Quincey and Sidney Smith! How easy, too, in the artist-life of England and Rome, to have counterpoised the absurdities of fashionable patronage and venal criticism with such true-hearted originality as Wilkie's life exhibits, such impassioned perversity as drove Haydon to suicide, such beautiful worship of beauty as makes cheerful martyrs in the studios of Italy! The age that owns a woman of science like Mrs. Somerville, a persecuted woman of genius like Mrs. Norton, a priestess of charity like Florence Nightingale, a bereaved wife such as Lady Franklin, and a woman with the radiant and pure singing robes of Elizabeth Browning, offers to the most

careless eye, and to the hand most loyal to fact, high and grateful illustrations of womanhood.

Mr. Thackeray's *forte* is the picturesque, — not in its sublimity, but its minutiae. He lacks both analytical and psychological insight; the prominent superficialities of character, the costume, the manner, the surroundings, — all that constitutes the body of a scene, — his pencil seizes with tact, and transfers with emphasis. To him may be specially applied the favorite commendatory epithet of his countrymen, — *clever*. Excellence of this degree and kind is rare, and upon it mainly rests his fame as an author. But there are depths of our common nature, shades of feeling, mysteries of heart and imagination, a significance even in the most apparently commonplace existence, to which he never penetrates. The key to these is not observation, but sympathy. They require for their illustration poetic sensibility, delicate perception, and spiritual affinities, — endowments more subjective than those yet displayed by this vigorous but coarse artist. He reproduces his own experience with vivid colors; he excels in the outward philosophy of life, and is at home at the club, in the studio, over the banquet of fish at Blackwell or the viands of a French restaurant, on the promenade at Brighton, at the India House, amid tobacco-smoke and punch-fumes, beside fast women and arrant coquettes, with old *militaires* and good fellows, laying waste with his trenchant rapier the nonsense and deception that in scenes like these hold sway. His *exposé* of liveried ostentation, clerical humbugs, lion-hunters, and demagogism, is a useful and a requisite service, for which thanks and honor are his just due. He has waged very successful battles against snobs, election brutalities, swindling, gamblers, and coquettes. He has made very true and living pictures of Anglo-Saxon life at Rome and Brighton, Calcutta and Baden-Baden, so that whosoever has personally known those localities, and the sayings and doings there, must recognize his daguerreotypes and applaud their accuracy. This work he has done also in a very animated and cheerful way, by virtue of an easy, colloquial, fluent style, with the unpretending address and ready art of an intelligent, good-natured, and not unkindly man of the world. But the constitutional brutality of his race, — the

want of refinement, of discrimination, of mellow tints, — the material coarseness that marks the predominance of brain over nerves, — the Costigan and Yellow-plush vulgarity and hardihood, — overlay those “finer issues” which are the triumph of characterization. He portrays the *blasé* aspect of life more elaborately than its freshness; his incarnations of conceit, selfishness, arrogance, hypocrisy, improvidence, and domestic tyranny are specific, bold, elaborate, painfully vigorous; while love, wisdom, truth, the redeeming phases of human nature, are merely generalized and comparatively vague. How tame is Laura’s portrait beside the Campaigner’s! how spectral the Countess de Florac in comparison with the Countess of Kew! how ubiquitous and important Major Pendennis in contrast with young Ridley! It may be argued that “the evil that men do” is more Protean and valiant, and that good is in itself more passive; but that is a perverse use of remarkable artistic powers which concentrates the interest of a story upon moral deformities, and sustains the most beautiful of human qualities in an atmosphere of indifference, while spite, pride, and worldly ambition crowd the stage and fill the air with their discords.

One reason that such pictures are not desirable long to contemplate, is that they are enamelled, — drawn and colored on the hard stone of life’s thronged highway, where all are in keen pursuit of selfish ends, and jostle each other with rigid lips and stern eyes, — where there are no rural amenities, no vast perspective to solemnize and sweeten the view; for Nature has but a feeble hold upon Mr. Thackeray’s sympathies, and her blessed ministry and tranquil grace are not invoked to soften and elevate. He celebrates “the man about town,” where “life makes us selfish, but not ill-natured”; there is no scenery, but an abundance of scenes; sneers far outnumber aspirations; the heart contracts more than it expands; conviviality seems the only touchstone of confidence; and we do not rise from the page with any new hope, faith, or charity, or, at best, only a natural compassion for the weak victims and a renewed distrust in the brutalized self-hood of our races.

His radical defect, the want of profound and delicate sympathetic insight, is obvious the moment our au-

thor quits the picturesque and dramatic in social life for the latent and causal in personal character. The way in which a writer deals with real men and women betrays the method of his ideal creation; the one process is analytical, and the other constructive; but in each his affinities and power of discrimination are clearly evinced. Take his Lectures on the English Humorists to illustrate the former. Invective is exhausted upon Swift and Sterne, graphic description brings out the careers of Addison and Goldsmith; but how inadequate are they all as critical portraits! how slightly does he penetrate beneath the surface! how little account he takes of cerebral disease and the love of power which was an idiosyncrasy of the Dean, and of the combination of an extremely sensitive temperament and a feeble will in Yorick, which demonstrates that inconstancy, not insincerity, was his organic defect! It is, however, in female character that Mr. Thackeray's want of refined perception and elevated sentiment emphatically betrays itself. No modern writer has done more to strip from the very name of woman all associations of moral beauty. It is not merely that he embodies the deceit, meanness, indelicacy, and selfish hardihood possible to the sex, — that he exhibits female monsters, approaches to which unfortunately exist and are fair subjects for the gallery of a novelist who professes to deal with realities; but it is that these revolting types of perverted womanhood, or rather of unsexed human deformities, are not redeemed in his pages by characters of equal force and finish of the opposite qualities. We have the bane without the antidote, the tempest without the rainbow, the shrew without the angel. One would imagine that it had never been Mr. Thackeray's privilege really to know, intimately to appreciate, and absolutely to recognize, a truly noble, gifted, lovely woman. Otherwise, a celestial grace would have been unconsciously woven into his "dream of fair women"; he would have created at least one specimen whom his readers would feel it possible to "love, honor, and obey" without compromising self-respect; a chivalric sentiment or a tender reminiscence would have stayed his ruthless hand, or guided it to finer issues. He would have found cause to celebrate other than negative virtues, and to deepen his satire of female hypocrisy by gleamings of a better instinct.

"The idea of her life would sweetly creep
Into his study of imagination;
And every lovely organ of her life
Would come apparelled in more precious habit
Into the eye and prospect of his soul."

Amelia, Helen, Laura, and Ethel, even as generalized models of "sweethearts and wives," would have given place to more womanly ideals. The truth is, if it requires somewhat of the poet's eye to discern the true gifts and graces of womanhood, it also requires somewhat of the poet's sympathy to elicit them; and so it happens that men in whom intellectual hardihood, complacent self-possession, or unsympathetic organization predominates, never realize the affinity whereby is revealed what is highest in woman. To such, perhaps, the assumption of any such occult and beautiful mystery will be regarded as visionary. The best minds of the world attest the reverse, and have recorded in undying language their faith. Dante, Shakespeare, and Milton, and, among later bards, Burns and Tennyson, we take to be not rhapsodists, but scientific authorities, on this subject. It may be urged, that Mr. Thackeray does not pretend to ideal views of life, — that a Beatrice, a Hermione, an Eve, a Highland Mary, or even a "Gardener's Daughter," are alien to his sphere, which is that of a satirist. Yet this office, as De Quincey truly says, must be either vindictive or philosophic. It is doubtless to the latter quality that the author of *Vanity Fair* aspires; and it is precisely because such effective portraits of perverted womanhood combined with such tame illustrations of female worth is unphilosophic satire, that we repudiate it here as a profanation of artistic talent. Let him show up "the bank of Damon and Phylis insolvent," ambitious mothers in their sycophancy to "Prince Rin," innocent girls "spoilt by contact with the world, and their bloom rubbed off in the market," and parallel the London conjugal mart with "Circassia and Virginia"; but for the sake of the artistic unities, good taste, and good feeling, if not for the sake of what is due to our common nature, to the filial and fraternal sentiment, to the most elevating dreams of youth and the most grateful of the memories of age, let him recognize also, and as emphatically, the existence of a "woman nobly planned," capable of magnanimity,

heroism, genius, earnestness, and sincerity. "A perfectly honest woman," he exclaims, "a woman who never flatters, who never manages, who never cajoles, who never conceals, who never uses her eyes, who never speculates on the effect she produces, who is never conscious of unspoken admiration,— what a monster, I say, would such a female be!" Not such a monster, however, as the woman in whom these subordinate instincts absolutely overlay and take the place of the native affections and crowning graces of the sex, as in the case of Becky Sharp; or as she who, endowed with nobler qualities, passively allows the more casual and inferior motives to quell her spontaneous love and immolate her personality, as in the instance of Ethel Newcome. The creed of this high-spirited heroine is thus declared: "I would, if I loved a man sufficiently, — loved him better than rank, than fine houses and titles, — and *I feel I love those best*, — I would give up all to follow him." Of course no romantic interest can attach to the after-career of this maiden, although the elopement of her sister-in-law, a foolish child married to a brute, is represented as producing a total change in her character; and so she is united to her cousin when his wife dies. Clive Newcome and Arthur Pendennis are equally destitute of the traits which mould and endear heroes. "Pen," we are told, "is conceited, but much kinder in reality than he has the air of being"; and thus it happens that, while the scenes and experiences through which Mr. Thackeray's characters pass are often quite entertaining and capitally described, we close the story with a singular indifference as to their fate, and realize that a new era of romance, or, more properly, of reality, has arrived. The sighs that exhaled from Mrs. Radcliffe's page, and the tears that bedewed Miss Porter's, give place to a knowing smile or a slight recoil of indignation; and we are in quite another world from that made pensive by Julia de Roubigne, or glorious by Ivanhoe. Amelia is too insipid, and Ethel too little in earnest, despite her miraculous conversion from the supreme love of "fine houses and titles," to awaken a particle of the interest with which we remember Minna Troil, Rebecca, and Jeannie Deans.

The recent custom, adopted from the *feuilleton* of the

Paris journals, of issuing a long story in monthly numbers, with piquant illustrations, is a profitable arrangement for authors, but it operates unfavorably as regards the entire composition. The temptation, if not the necessity, of making each instalment brilliant or impressive, leads to an exaggeration which would be chastened and diffused if the whole work were sent forth complete and at once. There is also incident to this method of publication a motive to amplify the narrative beyond its first limits, and to modify the plot and incidents with little regard to unity of conception; so that what is gained in freshness and animation by this serial and fragmentary mode of treating the public to its banquet of fiction, is lost on the score of harmony and completeness. The canvas may be more vivid and dramatic, but it is apt to be unequally toned, complex, and grotesque. Mr. Thackeray's volume of *Travels in the East*, is written in an even, rational vein; his numerous *jeux d'esprit* in *Punch*, which followed, are broadly humorous, as the exigency demands; and it was herein that his popularity germinated. Thenceforth two of the fungous excrescences most prevalent on the sturdy tree of English life — flunkies and snobs — have been the chosen game of the author, which he seems so eager to monopolize, that he has scarcely been aware of the temporary interest of a class singularly adapted to and deserving of merciless satire, yet, after all, soon exhausted, and essentially limited.

As indicative, however superficially and imperfectly, of national tendencies, these satirical photographs have indeed a painful interest. They illustrate the brutal and inane results of a state of society where the highest civilization co-exists with the deepest social injustice. An extreme and servile deference to rank, a pampered church, a famished working-class, and a deteriorated aristocracy, have bred the sycophants, tyrants, and hard egotists whom the novelist impales from modern English society, and the Crimea has enforced with blood the only practical lesson of his pen, — the absolute moral necessity of social regeneration as the basis of renewed national prosperity.

That Mr. Thackeray can produce, when he likes, a harmonized and complete work of literary art, is made evident by his "*History of Henry Esmond*." With the

exception of the heroine and her mother, whose incongruous shifting of relations towards the hero and the painful development of whose respective endurance and deviltry is a perversion which sickens the heart, this story meets the essential claims of an historical romance in the skill and consistency with which it is evolved. The spirit of the times, the military, social, and literary characteristics of Queen Anne's palmy days and closing reign, are felicitously reproduced; we hear the din of arms from the Flemish camp, partake of the *éclat* of Marlborough's victories, read the Spectators with contemporary eyes, behold Addison oracular at Wills', Steele personified as the successful wit and lover, and Lady Churchill dominant at court. The very language, tintured as it is with the olden construction, the very print, adopted from obsolete type, impart to the whole a mellow tone and a *vraisemblance* which render the illusion complete. The minor and historical personages, the incidental scenes, the still-life, and the refrain caught from the past, are admirably blended; from the State Trials, the current literature, the military and civic annals, and the private memoirs of the period, an effective and reliable work is thus elaborated, which indicates a capacity, on the part of the author, for something besides modern caricature and local satire.

Perhaps the rarest form of magnanimity is that which lifts the individual above the sense of his own disappointments, and enables him to recognize the true and the beautiful despite his own vanished dreams and blasted hopes. Only an extraordinary freshness of heart, or a deep religious faith, thus soothes the sting of regret; with too many it is a barbed arrow, that rankles only to embitter the feelings and breed harsh judgments and arid views. The spirit of Mr. Thackeray's writings is too much attuned to this mood. Calculating men, heartless women, *blasé* youths, the satirical, the misanthropic, those who have outlived romance or sacrificed their aspirations to gain, ambition, vanity, or pleasure, chuckle over a picture of life so confirmatory of their own experience; it responds to their mechanical standard, reflects their indifference, and echoes their hollow, isolated, distrustful lives. This "knowledge of the world" is all that is left to feed complacency; these temporizing lovers, artful vira-

goes, deceitful parsons, shrewd toadies, pampered diners-out, mercenary nuptials, and tearless funerals, — this charlatan view of life seems to justify both their philosophy and their fate, and assures them that, after all, in this age respectability is the ideal, and conventionalities the sphere of human existence, — that to take things as they are, and make the best of them, be cunning, grasping, and egotistic, and as good-tempered meanwhile as possible, is the legitimate way of the world.

“ If this were so, if this indeed were all,
Better the narrow brain, the stony heart,
The staring eye glazed o’er with sapless days,
The long mechanic paces to and fro,
The set gray life and apathetic end.”

We regard the popularity of Mr. Thackeray’s writings as a noteworthy sign of the times. Earlier in the history of the English novel, superiority of execution would not have atoned for such a dearth of sentiment, a piquant social Dunciad could not have taken the place of romantic and impassioned creations, and pleasantry and sarcasm would have been deemed quite inadequate substitutes for heroism, mystery, and adventure. The fact that such writings succeed proves how little the age is attuned to enthusiasm, and how exclusively it seeks amusement; it demonstrates, in a peculiar manner, how entirely the scientific has eclipsed the chivalric era, how cosmopolitan, locomotive, and generalized has become the life and the taste which, prior to steam, telegraphs, and cheap printing, embosomed so much hallowed ground for wonder, ideality, and reverence to construct their unchallenged and endeared shrines. The novelist who can deal best with the familiar, who can make studies of the every-day life of the hour, who can lead his reader a lively dance from scene to scene of metropolitan and Continental experience, and weave a farce or a melodrama, a spectacle or a vaudeville, from the men, women, and facts of to-day, is the public favorite. Knights exist only as effigies on tombs; ghosts hold intercourse with mortals through quite a vulgar mechanical process; gas-light quells “the palpable obscure”; Cupid has turned broker; war has such vast engines as almost to preclude the display of individual bravery; national, religious, and political zeal is no longer fiercely

incarnate, hereditary, and localized so as to furnish ready to the limner's hand pictures and scenes that yield a world of meaning at a glance; handicraft, professional vocations, domesticity, — a uniform tenor reduces human life to the more comfortable but less inspiring level of respectability, insight, and social order; so that, as the Dutch painters found in dikes, tulips, and domestic interiors, compensatory scope for art, the word-painter of our epoch looks keenly about him, and sedulously works up the adjacent material, trusting to mastery of details, vividness of coloring, and skilful exaggeration, to awaken the interest once derived from profound sentiment, marvellous events, and heroic characters. Our social landscape thus assimilates with the natural one familiar to the Lowland artist, and the modern author, like the old Flanders limner, is a kind of Dr. Syntax in search of the picturesque under difficulties. And if the legitimate triumph of modern novel-writing is to amuse without exciting, to substitute crude though keen observation for imaginative power and earnest sentiment, satire for sympathy, the familiar and immediate for the marvellous and the traditional, the conventional for the romantic, the pangs of domestic tyranny for the satisfaction of mutual love, the wilful for the intuitive in woman, and the indifferent for the intrepid in man, — and to do this in a way to command readers, guineas, and praise, — Mr. Thackeray has achieved a signal victory.

The significance of a work is to be estimated by the final impression, the positive tenor, and not according to an arbitrary infusion of mitigating sentiment. Thus Mr. Abbott fails to obviate the glorification of Bonaparte in his so-called *Life* of that remarkable man, by the occasional insertion of an evasive disclaimer, as, for instance, "Such are the horrors of war!" And in ascribing to Mr. Thackeray's writings a tone and *morale* which has the effect of a lamentable disenchantment of life, and an unphilosophical exaltation of worldliness as a subject of literary art, we are not insensible to the frequent and clear intermingling of "glimpses that make us less forlorn." Ethel's repentance, the Colonel's reconciliation with his son and final resignation and forgiveness, Madame de Florac's constancy and her son's filial love, the benevolent activity of Mr. Pendennis, J. J.'s devotion to Clive, the sweet pathos of Thomas Newcome's

exit, and many other soft, humane, and benign episodes, lessen the harshness of the satire, and brighten the record of inanities and violence. But these are exceptions only, and for the most part indifferently conceived. The talent of the Newcomes is reserved for its ironical sketches; the final impression is such as we have described, the actual lesson is not one that exalts or cheers; "the show of things" is not conformed "to the desires of the mind," nor is emotion sublimated by "terror and pity." Some of the maxims scattered through the narrative are worthy of Rochefoucauld: "What a man has to do in society is to assert himself"; "The pleasure of life is to live with your inferiors"; "I believe what are called broken hearts are very rare articles indeed"; "The sarcastic dodge is the best."

A novel so graphic, spirited, alive to the real, cognizant of fact, and abounding in artistic excellence, is, indeed, a vast improvement upon the intense and the sentimental romance. There is nothing high-flown or maudlin; it is manly in its very tartness; and if unideal and unheroic, it is, at least, neither vapid nor bombastic. What we demur to is its reliability as a picture of English fashionable life, of which it is more properly a caricature; what we regret is, that so well-written and voluminous a book, "about all the world and a most respectable family dwelling in it," should not enshrine one character we can dwell upon with strong interest and enduring satisfaction; that the good people in it are so weak, the bad so absurd, and that no one of the many *dramatis personæ* seems thoroughly in earnest, except a vixen and a little painter; that filial and parental love was not, if delineated at all, made holy by something like dignified consistency; that the hero was not more of a man, and the heroine more of a woman, so that the reader might honestly sympathize in their affection and their misfortunes. Many of the scenes through which we pass are entertaining, many are instructive, and nearly all well painted; but the actors therein keep us on the lowest range of sympathy; they provoke, amuse, repel, disgust, bore, and pique, and by turns leave us so unable either to love, admire, or hate, that we infer the gist of Mr. Thackeray's satire on modern English society to be, that it yields no character capable of exciting any strong, un-mixed, and permanent interest.

It is peculiar to this class of books, that they appeal directly to the sympathies; in fact, the chief benefit to men of grave pursuits, to the care-worn and the elderly, derived from novel-reading, is its vivifying effect upon the sensibilities. Through the fresh delineation of early life, devoted affection, local, traditional, and social charms, the dormant faith in humanity and obscured perspective of time are renewed to the vision and the heart. In the hands of genial artists, patriotic like Scott, ardently intellectual like Madame de Stael, overflowing with humane fellowship like Dickens, this moral refreshment is sure to be imparted through the characters, the scenery, or the incidents of a novel; and it is because this is the legitimate end of fiction, considered as a department of literature, that we are justified in testing the worth of such productions by their companionable qualities. And has not the well-conceived and thoroughly executed romance a positive sphere, like that which defines a family, a clique, or a local society? If so, it may fairly be judged, as we estimate individuals, by the "spirit they are of." Now the radical objection to Mr. Thackeray's pictures of life is, that they are utterly devoid of earnestness; he leads us through a routine which is mechanical, outward, and artificial, — one we have more or less tried and found wanting, the memory of which it is wholly undesirable to revive, whose conventionalities are stereotyped, and their relative importance and actual significance in the drama of human existence fixed in the opinion of every man of reflection. We have wasted time enough at dreary banquets, observed the phenomena of balls, realized the folly of the gambler and the heartlessness of the coquette, seen the wickedness of mercenary marriages, recoiled from snobs, hypocrites, and bores, too often to resume our acquaintance with these blots on the scutcheon of social life, in the pages of a book we take up for the very purpose of meeting fellow-creatures of a more satisfactory type. There must, of course, be a sprinkling of the former to give truth to the whole; but Mr. Thackeray makes them the staple of his books. We know people of the order Major Pendennis, Becky Sharp, the Countess of Kew, Barnes Newcome, and the Rev. Charles Honeyman, — people to a degree like them; but we do not seek their intimacy; we feel so repelled by such

company that we instinctively avoid it; familiarity therewith would not only breed contempt, but misanthropy, and therefore a slight acquaintance, a passing cognizance, is enough; equally distasteful is the predominance of these hardened incarnations of selfishness, equally acrid the influence of this perpetual atmosphere of worldliness, in a book as in life. Enough meets us in every walk of duty and intercourse to blunt the fine sensibilities, and to deaden the normal faith in human truth and love; in literature, at least, let us find these confirmed or quickened; there let us escape awhile the blight of indifference and the corrosion of scorn; let the inevitable shadows of the social panorama be there redeemed by those exquisite and true compensations of Shakespearian art, whereby the darkest traits and the most hopeless phases of our common destiny are warmed and purified by soulful flashes of tenderness, sacrifice, and aspiration. The power of Mr. Thackeray's characterization is expended on the monsters and the flats; their opposites are depicted in such tame colors as almost to disappear in the background. It is impossible to admire his good women and his pleasant fellows in the same degree with which we detest his *intrigantes*, his cowardly brutes, and his selfish old egotists. The tide of feeling, if it ever rises above the level of mere quiet, cynical amusement, is in the direction of impatience, contempt, and utter distrust of humanity. It is true, the heart warms towards such an epitome of kindness and parental love as Colonel Newcome, and we think Uncle James, Warrington, Fred Bayham, and De Florac good-hearted chaps, as the world goes; but they inspire simply good wishes, and no sentiment comparable in intensity with that which makes us recoil from the shallow, mean, detestable company around and through which they vibrate. But, exclaims an admirer of Thackeray's skill, consider the worldly knowledge, the sifting of human nature, the disrobing of vanity, the exposure of shams, the satire upon modern society, the wholesome irony and caustic truth of these sketches! We do consider them, and in as far as such anatomical preparations serve to unveil the mysterious laws of social health, and probe the diseases of modern English life to the quick, we do recognize and applaud them. Yet let them be

rated at their just value, and pass for exactly what they are, — magnified daguerreotypes of a few prominent figures, not representative types of universal application ; — the extreme results of club-life, aristocratic folly and egotistical wealth, as seen through the mephitic air of artificial society ; not portraits of human nature as it unfolds under the free sky, in the patient struggles of honest toil, amid the pure magnificence of nature, in the battle for truth, beside the hearthstone of domestic happiness, or in communities where honorable enterprise is man's destiny, and respect woman's birthright.

H. T. T.

ART. VII. — ROMANISM IN THE ISLAND OF MALTA.*

ENGLAND is a Protestant country, and the English government is usually regarded as the most reliable of Protestant governments. Yet what nation is so broadly catholic in the variety of religions which it protects and justifies ? The number of creeds which find room within the limits of the Turkish empire is small compared with the number which flourish under the sovereignty of the British Queen. There is hardly any existing form of worship, from the lowest fetichism to the blankest rationalism, which is not defended by the banner of St. George. There is hardly any idolatry, superstition, or heresy which is not tolerated by the public system of a people who are beyond all others arrogant in their ecclesiastical pretensions, and tenacious of the ritual of their own insular Church. The worship of Fo and Juggernaut, of Fire and the Ganges, is practised by British subjects, before the eyes of British governors. From Aden to Mecca is but a short pilgrimage, and many who belong to the English fortress go annually to kiss the black stone of Mahomet's holy city. The monotonous life of the civil and military officers who represent Britain in the Ionian Islands, is varied by the in-

* *Taghlim Nisrani. — Compendio della Dottrina Cristiana, ad Uso della Diocesi di Malta.* Malta. 1851. 18mo. pp. 160. (Manual of Christian Doctrine, for the Use of the Diocese of Malta. — Arabic and Italian.)

numerable shows and everlasting noise of the Greek Church, which has lost nothing there of its character by its changed allegiance. It is not unlikely that, when the Allies come to divide the spoils of the present war, England may take Egypt and Syria, and so become at once patron to the Copts, with their miscellaneous company of swarthy saints, from Origen downward, to the Armenians, who worship still the identical cock which crowed the rebuke of Peter, and to the Druses, whose women go horned like the unicorn. A Jew has already more than once been chosen to Parliament, and one of the race of Shylock holds at this time, we believe, the office of Lord Mayor of London.

It is a singular fact, that the most sincere zeal and the most extraordinary absurdities of the ancient Catholic Church are to be witnessed in one of the strongest of the English possessions. Rome itself is less Catholic than the island of Malta, where every seventh man is an English soldier. In the papal city, not one of the three hundred churches is opened for the ritual of the English prayer-book, and her Majesty's scrupulous subjects may be met on any fair Sunday morning trudging across the Piazza del Popolo to their chapel outside of the walls; while on all four sides of the Governor's palace in Malta a Catholic Church is within hailing distance, and through all the first hours of the day the sound of festal masses comes droning up the narrow streets, like the hum of insects. A Christmas night at Malta, if less imposing and grand in its ceremonies than at Rome or Milan, is not less curious and grotesque in the excess of its superstitions. Long before the morning gun disturbs the magistrates in their slumbers, thousands of the peasants of the island, men and women and children, old and young, have knelt to the bespangled wooden Bambino, lying on its illuminated manger, and have chanted in barbarous Arabic the song which the shepherds sang at Bethlehem. In all the churches, from the great cathedral of St. John, where there are railings of silver and a pavement of mosaic, one of the wonders of the world, down to the little chapel of the "Purganti," which is rich in the real and painted heads of saints, there is a degree of fanatic fervor which makes it quite evident that a Protestant movement in Malta has not much to

hope at present, and that the splendid edifice by the water-side, which the officials and their families frequent, has not won many of the natives away from their hereditary faith.

It vexes John Bull sorely to see that the cost of such mummeries must be paid for in his own solid Protestant coin, that good English shillings must buy the intercession of the Holy Son of the Grand Turk, whose portrait honors the sacristy of the church of St. Dominic, or of that hideous effigy in the church of the Carmine, which they pray to as "the Mother of God." In his disgust at the exterior of these Catholic altars and rites, John usually restrains himself from further inquiry, and takes no pains to know what is taught in these churches, even to the soldiers of his own garrison. The English residents in Malta rarely enter the doors of any church there but their own, and have but an extremely vague idea of the instruction which is given almost before their eyes. We have heard the Jesuit fathers in that city, who have almost unlimited liberty in their spiritual management of the Irish soldiers, teach directly, in their church, to these Irish soldiers, doctrines which were little short of treasonable, and which, if printed in English newspapers, would rouse the indignant wrath of all Protestants in the realm. The Church of Rome has not anywhere a more skilful, subtle, and persevering band of emissaries than the Jesuits who preach and teach in the pulpits and schools of the Gesù in Malta.

The Jesuit fathers, however, are somewhat hampered in their training of the soldiers by the language which they are obliged to use. Falsehoods, certainly, can be told in the Saxon English, as the statements alike of ministers in the Parliament and cabmen in the streets of London abundantly prove. But English has never been a good language for Roman pedagogues. The flexible tongue of Italy, and the Arabic gutturals, full of double and deceptive sounds, are admirably adapted to such lessons as the catechisms of the Roman Church contain. A falsehood loses something of its repulsiveness, when all the words which hold it fall musically from the tongue, or when, on the other hand, the tongue cannot pronounce them. Catholic catechisms, before they take an English dress, have usually to pass through

a process of large expurgation and revision. There is not a priest in Ireland who would dare to teach such words of doctrine as are taught with the utmost freedom south of the Alps. And even in Paris, where the magnificence of ritual and religious pomp is marvellous, and the worship of the temples is a scenic and dramatic luxury greater even than the opera, the catechetical instruction is considerably modified and improved from that of the Ultramontane communion.

The small volume mentioned at the head of this article is the standard catechism of the Roman Church in Malta. Its motto, taken from the apocryphal book of the Son of Sirach, is, "Wisdom giveth life to her children." It is dedicated "to the glorious Apostle of the Gentiles, St. Paul, father and protector of the Maltese Church," every one of whose footprints and resting-places on the island, from the bay of his shipwreck to the place of his departure, are marked by holy and infallible tradition. It is published "with the approval of his most reverend highness, Monsignor Publio Maria de' Conti Sant, by the grace of God and of the Apostolic chair Archbishop of Rodi and Bishop of Malta." It gives such rudiments of doctrine as little boys are expected to learn when they are first formed into classes, and all the general instructions necessary to enable them to assist at the altar service. It contains concise, but full, explanations of the theological, the moral, the ritual, and the spiritual articles of the Catholic system. These are given in two languages, Arabic and Italian, and are arranged as usual in catechisms, in the form of question and answer. A copious appendix is furnished, with a variety of prayers suitable for sacred occasions, and a collection of Arabic hymns for the stations of the Passion,—to hear which sung is one of the most severe musical dispensations which can fall to the lot of man. While such music is permitted, to attend upon the pious procession of the Holy Way is to bear most severe penance. One prayer is "to the Holy Crucifix," which any one may recite who has an image of the dying Saviour, enumerating the five wounds of Christ, with their religious meaning. The prayer is in ten lines, but is highly efficacious; for a pleasing note adds, "Whoever shall recite the said prayer shall be able to obtain a

Plenary Indulgence, and to free a soul from Purgatory,"—and the authority of three Popes, confirming the indulgence, is given. Another prayer is to St. Louis Gonzaga, whose signal earthly merits entitled him to the place of permanent intercessor in heaven for the devout Maltese. The Maltese private calendar is large, as one may see by names and faces which are painted upon an extraordinary tree in one of the churches. One is reminded by this picture of the story which Húc tells of the tree which he saw in Thibet, every leaf of which was inscribed with some sacred name.

Catholic teaching begins with the central mysteries, and comes out and down to the moral and ceremonial matters, which are altogether of minor importance. The first affirmation which the child must make is, that he believes in the infallibility of the Holy Catholic Church; the next is, that he believes in God, that is, in the three persons of the Holy Trinity. The first date which is impressed on his mind is the date of the Incarnation, "March 25th." A rapid bound passes over the whole life of Christ from his birth to his crucifixion, not one question concerning that period being given; and of the crucifixion, the principal question is, whether Christ died "as God or as man." But concerning his *post-mortem* agency, a very distinct reply is expected. The child must say that Christ's holy soul went in those three days to *limbo*, to set free the souls of the holy fathers, of the saints who had died before him. Then he is made to state how Christ can be at once omnipresent and at the same time specially in the bread on the altar, and to define the difference between the righteous and the wicked, or, in other words, between good Christians and infidels, and to say positively that the former go to Paradise, while the latter go to an eternal hell. Pretty well for a little boy's first lesson!

Of course, instruction in the Creed and Sacraments speedily follows. The sacrament of Baptism is taught as the most necessary of all, the only way of salvation from original sin. The sacrament of the Chrism follows, more like the corresponding rite in the Eastern Churches than the rite of confirmation, which the Roman symbolic books are wont to teach. The Holy Chrism, so the pupil must answer, is made of oil and

balsam mixed together, and consecrated by the bishop, the *oil* signifying the splendor of a good conscience, and the *balsam* the odor of a good life. It is not a little amusing to notice at this rite of the Chrism, after the gracious anointing, the invariable box on the ear which the bishop administers to the newly confirmed candidate. This is a striking pledge, that he is enlisted as a good soldier of Christ, and is ready to bear every kind of insult and injury.

The extreme length of the *confessions* in Malta is remarkable, when one considers the frequency with which the faithful there go to confession. In Rome the operation is usually very short, and five minutes, once in a month or once in a week, suffice to make a clean breast of it, and to get absolution. But in Malta the kneeling form remains still in its penitential niche for half an hour or more, and then, as it moves away under its broad black mantle, the expression of the countenance seems to say that there are some sins yet left undeclared. And this may be mentioned as a general observation about the Catholic practice of confession, that those observe it most painfully and scrupulously who have the fewest sins to confess. A simple-hearted people like the Tyrolese and the Maltese, when they go to the wall to tell their iniquities, become sinners above all who dwell in Vienna or Naples. The catechism gives very minute instructions concerning this rite.

The amount of time, too, which the Maltese women spend in attending masses, extraordinary as it seems, is justified by what they are taught from the beginning. The child answers, "I visit the Holy Sacrament every day, and oh! if it could be, I would visit it every moment." Accordingly, it is not uncommon to see those who have been present already at the service in their own church go, when that is finished, to another, and thence to another, and so, before noon, pray at least three souls out of Purgatory;—for to that also are they earnestly enjoined. For this and the other sacraments, too, *fasting* is a preliminary. It would seem unnecessary to urge this upon a people so poor, where the means for satisfying hunger so often fail. And it is pleasant for the peasant who has no money to buy his dinner on Saturday to reflect that he has also no temptation to vio-

late the precept of the Church which adds this to Friday as a day of vegetarian diet. The chief luxury which most of the Maltese enjoy, even on their feast-days, is a great boiled cauliflower.

The few important formulas of the catechism are the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, and the Commandments. The chief force of the practical instructions which the priests give, is spent in trying to explain these formulas. They are not apparently very successful in making the people understand. But the people come to repeat the words very glibly, and to make use of them in some strange ways. We heard a story of a devout worshipper, who was accustomed, when she was sick, to roll up manuscript copies of the Creed into pills, and take them in that way as remedies for evil. They proved to be an excellent medicine. The Lord's Prayer, too, is so much a favorite, that it is used on some occasions when it hardly seems in place. The cabman who cheers on his lazy horse to drag up the streets of Valletta the clumsy vehicle which answers in that town the purposes of locomotion, ejaculates scraps from the Pater Noster, instead of the ordinary oaths, of which the Arabic tongue has so full a store. The market-women along the Strada Mercanti chant in perpetual refrain the Ave Maria, as they watch their cabbages and their orange-baskets, and force one to regret that the Archangel Gabriel should have uttered his salutation to the "blessed among women." They add to the Ave Maria, too, a salutation to some other saint, for in no part of the Catholic world is the doctrine of guardian angels more faithfully taught, and more fully believed, than in the island of Malta. The island is bare of groves, but in the hearts and homes of the people there are the cherished spirits of friendly saints.

The Maltese, like many other of the Roman Catholic catechisms, reckons the number of "commandments" to be ten, but makes some alterations to suit the customs of the Church. The second commandment of the Decalogue of Moses, which forbids the making of any graven image as an object of worship, is quite left out, and the command not to take God's name in vain is counted as the second. In the matter of graven images, both by precept and example, the priests and friars justify an

idolatry to which there is no bound. In Holy Week there is the most profuse supply of images to illustrate the scenes of the Saviour's death and resurrection. As works of art, the numerous figures which represent the Saviour and the Virgin have not the merit of those in Italy. No pupil of Michel Angelo wrought for the Knights of St. John. But the devotion to these figures is as intense and fanatical as any in the world. We have seen, in the church of the Carmine, women of the better class, apparently, plucking spangles from the Virgin's robe to keep as amulets. Processions go through the streets of this English island, which are fully as Pagan as that of the Corpus Christi in Rome; and the Protestant soldiers, who bear out the body of some comrade, with sad music and arms reversed, to its burial, may meet the singular train of ecclesiastics who are carrying on a gilded bier, with lighted torches and guttural chanting, the body of Christ for the adoration of the faithful. Nay, the thing is carried so far, that, instead of graven images, they exhibit in some places the real body. Capuchin friars everywhere are necrologists by choice, and deal professionally with the dead. But in Malta the Capuchins go farther than their brethren of the Pincian Hill. They *dry* the bodies of their departed members, and set them erect against the walls of their subterranean chapels, in the attitude of blessing the faithful who may come to pray before them.

The command to "keep the *Sabbath* holy" is altered to include all feast-days. It must be shocking to the Scotch officials, who have been trained to the funereal gloom of the Sabbath in the land of cakes and whiskey, when they first encounter the profane amusements of a Maltese Sunday. It must be confessed, however, that a military station, whether Catholic or Protestant, is not the place to confirm strict Sabbatical notions. The frigates do not restrain their salutes because it is the Lord's Day, when they enter and depart; and the habits of soldiers suit very well with the Catholic custom.

To eke out the number of *ten*, the last commandment of Moses is here divided into two, and the coveting of a man's wife is made a separate offence from the coveting of his other property. The commandment "not to commit adultery" is made to include all offences against

purity. And, in general, all the commandments are explained in so comprehensive a way, that the added meaning is far more than the original substance. The "Master of Sentences" and the "Seraphic Doctor" have much to answer for in the style of interpretation which they fixed in the Church. The commentary which the Jesuits give in their Sunday schools upon any of these precepts bears about the same proportion to the text that the body of a spider does to the web which he spins; and it is spun out and spun together with equal dexterity.

Rory O'More was a Catholic, and his faith, perhaps, gave him assurance doubly strong, that "there's luck in odd numbers." Three, five, and seven, in ecclesiastical regulations, are the favored digits. "The commandments of the Church," says the catechism, "are five; first, to hear the Mass on all Sundays and stated feast-days; second, to fast during Lent and the stated vigils, and not to eat meat on Friday or Saturday; third, to confess once a year, at least, and to take the communion at Easter; fourth, not to celebrate nuptials in the prohibited seasons [which include about three months of the year]; and fifth, to pay tithes" (last, but not least). The *counsels* of the Church are *three*, — voluntary Poverty, perpetual Chastity, and, in everything except sin, Obedience. The Sacraments of the Church are *seven*. The last of these, the Sacrament of "Orders," is annually celebrated with extraordinary pomp at Malta, in the great church of St. John. We have seen on that occasion the whole choir of that vast building covered with the prostrate forms of the candidates for the various orders of office, each in the dress of the class he was to enter, so solidly as to form a living pavement of the most gorgeous colors and most quaint devices. Congregational ordination may be as "valid," but it is not as splendid, as Catholic ordination; and if old Paul Dudley had witnessed the mummeries of the elder Church in this service, he might not have fastened his quadrennial thesis to the terms of his Cambridge charity. It is a very affectionate service, if one may judge by the quantity of hand-kissing which attends it.

Corresponding to the seven sacraments in the province of ritual, are seven principal virtues in the province of divine morals; three *theological*, viz. Faith, Hope,

and Charity, and four *cardinal*, viz. Prudence, Justice, Temperance, and Fortitude. To complete the triad of sevens, the catechism adds seven "gifts of the Holy Spirit," viz. Wisdom, Intelligence, Foresight, Endurance, Science, Piety, and the Fear of God. These are progressive and cumulative gifts, and are to be reckoned in inverse order. Their relation to the ethics and the sacraments of the Church is the same as that of the Holy Spirit to the other persons in the Trinity. They aid worship and virtue, and "make this perfect in the way of God." The *Fear of God* causes us to abstain from sin. By *Piety* we become devout and obedient to God. *Science* directs us to know the will of God, and *Endurance* aids us to do and fulfil this will. *Foresight* warns us of the cheats of the Devil. *Intelligence* opens our minds to understand the mysteries of faith. And by *Wisdom* we become perfect, ordering all our life and actions to God's glory, since the wise man knows the last end to which all things are tending.

Following this triad of sevens, we have a pair of sevens, labelled "Works of Mercy." One set of these are *corporal* works, the other are *spiritual*. This is the exact number which our Saviour will ask for in the Day of Judgment. The *corporal* works are, "to feed the hungry, to give drink to the thirsty, to clothe the naked, to entertain travellers, to visit the sick, to visit the prisoners, and to bury the dead." The *spiritual* works, which keep these corporal works in company, are, "to advise the doubters, to teach the ignorant, to admonish the sinful, to console the afflicted, to pardon offences, to bear patiently personal wrongs, and to pray to God for the living and the dead."

If the Roman Church can classify virtues so exactly, and officially announce the exact number of duties which the Divine Judge will require from mortals, it has a still more excellent accuracy in making precise distinctions in the nature and malignity of different sins. "Original Sin," of course, is the most damnable, since it is of longest standing and most incorrigible. But that offence is worse for unborn babes than for living men. It is an awful general curse, but need not be in any case a special curse. A visit to the font settles that matter in the beginning. Few of the devout Maltese have any origi-

nal sin left when they are a month old. Next to this in heinousness is *mortal* sin, for the dispersing of which the Sacrament of Penance is most luckily provided. Of *venial* sins there is a variety of grades, from the capital kind, which must be severely expiated, to the trifling kind, which a timely sixpence may buy off. There are seven radical sins, from which all minor offences arise, each one of the seven a contrast to some valuable virtue. There is *pride*, set over against humility, — *avarice*, the opposite of liberality, — *luxury*, the opposite to chastity, — *anger*, the reverse of meekness, — *gluttony*, the reverse of abstinence, — *envy*, to which brotherly love is the foe, — and *sloth*, the opposite of industry. This is a smaller catalogue than most readers of the Gospels would reckon, but it is well to be exact, and not go beyond the regular number.

Occasionally the catechism ventures upon *even* numbers. It counts, for instance, only *six* "sins against the Holy Spirit," and only *four* "which call for special vengeance in the bosom of God." In the first class are, "to despair of salvation, to presume that there can be salvation without merit, to oppose acknowledged truth, to envy another's grace, to persevere in sin, and to go on sinning without doing penance until the hour of death." These are sins against the Holy Ghost. The second of these offences has in Protestant catechisms a quite different reading.

In the other class of sins, those which God particularly hates are voluntary homicide, carnal sin against nature, oppression of the poor, and the cheating of operatives out of their wages. Of all these sins, no part of the world has had a more full and painful experience than the island of Malta. If homicides are not so frequent there as formerly, the other offences are still patent on the highways, and bitter in the complaining tongues of a people who love the Church all the more that they are so fleeced and oppressed by it. The Catholics of Malta are a different race from the Catholics of Rome. In the latter region, there is a secret hate of the ecclesiastical tyranny, which would break out into acts of vengeance, if they could see any way to make this vengeance effectual. The language of the peasants, as any one who has kept his ears open at Rome and in the neigh-

borhood knows well, is not at all that of love to the priests, or fanatical devotion to the precepts of the Church. Ask your guide at Frascati about the love of the people for the priests and the festival shows, and he answers you fiercely, "*Molti preti, molti diaboli*," and makes a significant gesture of such a sport as was practised in the revolutionary days of Paris.

In Malta, on the contrary, with all the extortions and impositions of the Church, there is no thought of rebellion. The poor islanders will starve before they will fail in their spiritual duties, and the tithe shall be paid, though it take the very bread from their children's mouths. Their advantages in a land of free religion and a free press they prize very meanly, and, instead of political pamphlets or incendiary newspapers, you see in the hands of those who can read, only the little volumes of Pina-monti's "*La Croce Allegerita*," or the "*Via Sagra*" of the Abbati Metastasin. They cling to their fathers' faith and idols with a true Arab persistence. And if the Pope cannot find much comfort in the success of his daring attempt to map out England in Catholic sees, he may be pleased to reflect that all the missionary and moral influence of the English Church has not been able to win away from fidelity the people whose ancestors for ages prayed and fought under the banner of the Knights of the Cross. If he should again be driven to exile, he might find his most secure retreat, hands most loyal to defend him, and lips most eloquent to bless him, within the fortress of the worst schismatic that ever broke from his dominion. Next to the Maronites of Mount Lebanon, the Maltese subjects of the English Queen are most devoted to the successor of St. Peter.

C. H. B.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1. *The Song of Hiawatha.* By HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1855. pp. 316.
2. *Poems of Home and Travel.* By BAYARD TAYLOR. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1855. pp. 252.
3. *Maud, and other Poems.* By ALFRED TENNYSON. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1855.
4. *The Mystic, and other Poems.* By PHILIP JAMES BAILEY, Author of "Festus." Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1856. pp. 159.
5. *The Poems of ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING.* New York. 1854. 2 vols. pp. 312, 300.
6. *Men and Women.* By ROBERT BROWNING. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1856. pp. 351.

EVERYTHING from Mr. Longfellow's pen is eagerly read, from the copious hexameters of "Evangeline" to that marvel of rhyme, "The Prometheus and Epimetheus," and the dear old picture of "The Ropewalk" with its lightly touched but lovely cabinet of suggestions. This new poem carries us to Lake Superior, and among the early traditions of the Indian tribes who hunted near its banks and fished in its waters. In this he has done a similar good office to the legends of those wild people of our own continent, that Tegnér has rendered to the North of the Old World in his immortal Lay of Frithiof. We are wholly where he places us. There is nothing to disturb that illusion. The scenes and manners are far away from civilized life; and yet the beautiful tone of the writer's mind, which so universally pervades his verse and is one of its chief charms, protects us from everything harsh and repulsive. The musical sounds of a primitive dialect flow over the ears. The incidents are rude but pleasing. The imagery is all conformed to the state of society and thought which he describes. He is not betrayed for an instant into any of those illustrative modes of speech which belong to a more refined period. That these proprieties of his theme should be so carefully kept is specially to be admired, when we consider that his forbearance must have cost him more than the most labored fancies of inferior bards.

We should not undertake to relate the story of this poem, even if there were much to tell; for the reason that we think this to be generally a mean way of dealing with works of art,

whether written in cantos or prose paragraphs. Besides, all the world will know what the "Song" is about, long before these pages are printed. But really, in the present instance, there is very little of this kind to report. The main current of the narrative is slender. Hiawatha, a mythic and divinely descended personage, a man and something indefinitely more than a human being, is the teacher and civilizer of his people; — a sort of Indian Cadmus and Triptolemus both together, and somehow one of ourselves at the same time. He woos and weds Minnehaha, "Laughing Water"; after whose death by fever and famine during a terrible winter, in which even her strong and swift husband could bring in no game, he sails away westward out of the poem;

"Sailed into the fiery sunset,
Sailed into the purple vapors,
Sailed into the dusk of evening,"

amidst the sad farewells of his countrymen, of the domesticated animals, and of the very woods and waters. Around this simple story are gathered the descriptions and incidents of the piece, which are as agreeable as fairy legends, but without aiming at any intense or profound effects. The measure throughout is what is called by the prosodists the Dimeter Trochaic, which from its even flow is excellently suited to his work. We welcome "Hiawatha the Beloved"; and are sure that his departure through the golden gates between the "Big-Sea-Water" and the sky will be followed by readers many a year hence, with the same tranquil thoughtfulness that it has been by ourselves.

Mr. Bayard Taylor writes as bravely as he travels. He is a poet of a true and deep stamp. There is nothing trivial or flat in his verses. He has tenderness and fire, a quick fancy, and extraordinary wealth of poetic diction. But he does not form an exception to the law, that eminent facility in composition is a snare to the most able writers. His own confession, indeed, indicates as much as this; for in his preface to this volume "he desires a speedy forgetfulness for much" of his former poetry "that did not appear to him worthy of republication." We are by no means of opinion that his fine, free qualities are not greatly to surpass even these honorable achievements. We are compelled to say, however, that there is now and then a haziness over his expressions; when his thought is not presented with sufficient sharpness, and vague though silken words rather veil than brighten his meaning. This defect does not seem to belong to such a practical spirit as Mr. Taylor's; and we were at a loss to account for it till we read his "Ode to Shelley." Then we began to imagine that we had found the key of the secret. There is no need of his vailing his cap as he does to that poet, whom we

regard as a great seducer of his "tuneful brethren." Whoever feels smitten with any violent admiration of his "woven wind," will do well to recover gradually from that blow. The sooner he is made well, the more timely will be his return to perspicuity, substance, nature, and truth. As lovers of our literature, we are grateful for this volume, and shall await hopefully its successors.

Notwithstanding some clever points made by Mr. Tennyson, enough that is puerile, distempered, and audacious goes philandering and blustering through the pages of "Maud" to thin very seriously the bays of the English Laureate.

Something perhaps must be said of Mr. Philip James Bailey's last. But what can be reported of such an impenetrable mass of conceit and artificial darkness? It is not so much as handsome "Orphics," or pleasant dreaming, or ingenious mystification, or the honest English tongue. There was an old writer among the Greeks, Heraclitus, whose name — and happily next to nothing else — has come down to us under the title of "The Obscure." Doubtless he rejoiced in the skill with which he eluded the comprehension of all mortal men; but he could have had only a remote conception of what was to be accomplished in this line more than two thousand years after him. If any person should happen to find himself in such paramount vigor of mind, that German *Ästhetica*, Chalybäus's Survey of Speculative Philosophy, or Stallo's Philosophy of Nature, fail to keep him in sufficient exercise, we might recommend to him "The Mystic and other Poems." But can any one have gone through them, except those poor bondmen, the proof-readers? or will any persevere to follow their example? Ay, beyond question. Some will find wonderful revelations therein; as the good Abbé Kircher stood before a hieroglyphic inscription and read in it to his perfect satisfaction one of the Hebrew Psalms. Leaving behind, then, altogether the consideration of meaning, which every one may find or fancy as he will, we shall speak only of the pedantic affectation of style, which is not an occasional blemish, but a pervading disease, through the whole book. It is sad to see how widely this vice has infected the poetical literature of Great Britain for now many years; and sadder still to see how it can find admirers among thoughtful and educated persons. It can scarcely be carried further than by the "Author of Festus." The first line of the present volume is:

"Who holds not life more *yearful* than the hours."

The two last are these:

"And the *crash* of thousand harp-strings hands of desperation *sweep*;
Then she laid her own, and, praying, slept the long *unmorrowing* sleep."

On opening it impartially in the middle, the first line that met the eye was the following :

“ Whose elbow, jogged by earthquakes, wryed the pole.”

And these are not unfair samples. There is much that is worse, and little that is better. Now, on behalf of every unperturbed taste, and in the name of all the dictionaries, we declare our protest against such handling of our mother speech. Extravagant and fantastic modes of utterance are poor pranks to play, if a man has really any earnest thing to tell ; and if he has not, his tinsel will only call more attention to his poverty. No author's pretension can be allowed to set itself up against the authorities and proprieties of the language in which he writes. “ Metamorphic rye ” and “ translucent pome,” “ animastic orders ” and “ psychopompous function,” the “ gem-like plumetage ” of the humming-bird, and the baboon “ soul wanting sole,” are no good phrases, whatever may be the applause in some quarters. When, somewhere in “ the cœlar path,” some one

“ all the stars outstares,
Gazing them down,”

we are strikingly reminded of some of the verbal exploits of Mr. Alexander Smith ; but when the same sublime some one, with

“ Gifts pleni-solar, and præ-astral powers,
..... drove his dragon chariot round the world,
Lashing with lightnings till *they* (?) sweated fire,”

the imagery is so very strong, that we are free to own we know of nothing, short of the peculiar style ascribed to some of our countrymen at the West, that at all comes up with it.

Here we might end, but for remembering that this is a “ Christian Examiner,” and that therefore there is a further duty to be discharged towards the public, — a much more important duty than belongs to mere literary criticism. The second piece in this book, filling nearly half its space, and called “ A Spiritual Legend,” is actually an exposition and defence of the crazy notions of the Gnostics and Docetæ, who corrupted and tormented the Church in the earliest periods of its history. Will this be believed without written proof ? Here it is then. We shall piece the parts together, as well as we are able, altering not a syllable. “ Now that Messianic times drew nigh, the Most High sent from heaven his Christ ; that He, being born

In union consubstantive with the man

Jesus, might the reign o'erthrow of angel kings who thrall'd the world ; and in front,

The haughty and presumptuous spirit which claimed
 Allegiance from the patriarch's house, who led
 By him, from Goshen, in C'naan abode."

Goshen he seems to have strangely confounded with Ur of the Chaldees; and C'naan is probably a misprint, and not some erudite reading of what the vulgar call Canaan. In any case, however, we miss the true Miltonic accent. "The haughty spirit" is no other than the God of the Old Testament; who is afterwards styled "the angel of the Hebrews, (chosen race as they o'erweeningly misdeemed, so taught by their intolerant warden)," — which "warden" is the great lawgiver Moses. This "angel of the Hebrews, moved with wrath, and now inspiring malice in the heart of thousands, bade seize and slay Jesus. But Christ, first *Æon*, the *Intelligence*, *impassible*, immortal, 'scaped their toils; and now sits, the head of all existence, light of God, who alone is first and last; *creation circling midst*;" — which last phrase we know not whether to leave to the cabala or the grammarians. We do not see, after all, that this philosophic Deity is much better than the dethroned Lord, to whose glory one of those dreadful Jews could write the 103d Psalm, and say, "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him." Not much better! For Mr. Bailey goes on with a passage, at which we shall make a shuddering stop, and quote no more:

"Death were too cheap a pain; man's life a fine
 Too trivial to appease God's PROUD REVENGE,
 But for thine infinite atonement, Christ!
 And it comports with reason."

Only one thing pleases us in this. It is to see the monstrous dogma of a bloody, infinite sacrifice, which is still endured in the world, thus connected with the Gnostical figments that were long ago swept like rubbish out of it.

Here, then, lands — or soars out of sight, as usual — the author of "*Festus*." We regard his book as a complex nuisance. In the first place, it is a high misdemeanor against our native tongue, such as ought to be prosecuted rigorously in the Court of Letters. In the second, it tends to betray young folks into visions and conceit. And, finally, it is doing its best to cloud over our Christianity with the pestiferous vapors of Marcion and Valentine.

The somewhat lavish poetry of Mrs. Browning has found many admirers in England and in this country. We could never be of the number, notwithstanding her many claims to respectful regard. The words often outweigh the thoughts, and the thoughts are often hardly worth expressing; and her pages contain instances of almost every blemish of style, except those

that are of a plebeian order. But our chief complaint is of what we cannot but consider an elaborate affectation overspreading her verses. There seems to be a desire of saying things in a way in which no one else would think of saying them. While we are wishing that she would not pester us so with her Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, we find that her English troubles us a great deal more. "Affectation — it cannot be repeated too often — is the bane of a great portion of the poetry now most in vogue. Give us, one is ready to say, the talk of clowns, if they will seriously undertake to talk, rather than the jingle and subtlety of ambitious phrases trying to pass for conceptions! In these Mrs. Browning is affluent. Her manner of writing often shows a remarkable affinity to Mr. Bailey's; and to the faults chargeable against him she adds others of her own, which show a great want of true perception, and take a plunge occasionally not only into the dark, but into the ridiculous. Take for example :

" Let us sit on the thrones
In a purple sublimity,
And grind down men's bones
To a pale unanimity."

Not long ago we saw quoted as a brilliant specimen the following lines on the creation of angels :—

" As yourselves
Were fashioned very good *at best* (?), so we
Sprang very beauteous from the *creant* Word
Which thrilled around us ; God himself being moved,
When that august work of a perfect shape,
His dignities of soveran *angel-hood*,
Swept out into the universe ; divine,
With thundrous movements, earnest looks of gods,
And *silver-solemn* clash of *cymbal wings*."

There is no need of pointing out the particular sins of such inflations as these. They are part of an exceedingly disagreeable piece of Christian mythology, entitled "A Drama of Exile," which fills a hundred pages in the second of these two volumes, and which closes with a sort of stage direction : "There is a sound through the silence, as of the falling tears of an angel." (!) The whole "Drama" is a large collection of "taffata phrases," "three-piled hyperboles," and "figures pedantical." To say, after this, that her rhyming is frequently of the very worst that can anywhere be encountered, would seem to be descending to small matters. We would gladly, if there were space, repeat some passages of a different kind, and of undoubted merit, from this lady's writings. But after all, where there is such an absence of simplicity and poise, the crown is off from the "goddess Poesy," and there can be little to be heartily admired.

Mr. Robert Browning has shown us that poetry may be written a great deal worse, in some respects, than anything which has yet passed under our review ;— profounder shadow, more conceited pretension, more offensive perversity. One has to hunt for his meaning with as baffled an eye and as frequent a disappointment as in the writings of Mr. Bailey. But the affectation that here juggles with our sight is of another kind, and far the more intolerable of the two. We are almost sorry for what we have said about Mr. Bailey's offuscations, now that they are found to be so transcended. For he writes at least like a man in earnest, who really fancies he has important thoughts, and wishes to deal honestly with his readers. Provided we are acquainted sufficiently with learned languages, we can really make him out, for the most part, tolerably well, after all. But what shall be said of Mr. Browning? Instead of puzzling us with long pedantic phrases, he usually — though with many detestable exceptions — chooses words that are easily understood ; but he so shuffles them about under his sleeves and conjuring-boxes, that we are lost in perpetual bewilderment. Instead of being misty through the remoteness of abstract meditations, he undertakes to be astonishingly familiar ; and is so, almost to vulgarity. The most rampant drolleries dance along his lines. He seems to delight in a jaunty and unwholesome foreign manner ; and this even while the Holiest Names — which are altogether too freely tossed about — are on his lips. We are sorry to say it, but he exhibits a kind of jesting which an apostle calls "not convenient," and a tone of levity upon sacred subjects, and a rakish taint of sensuality.

Singers are said to have a head-voice or a chest-voice. Mr. Browning sings from the head, and not from the neighborhood of the heart ; and his falsetto is as little like a natural voice as can well be imagined. What is poetry written for, if not to express some thought or feeling which could not so effectually find utterance in any other way ? What is its high and true province, but to exalt the fancy, to refine the taste, to awaken the sensibility, to move the heart and soul ? Not, certainly, to play off ingenuities, and to try in how many cunning ways one can distort language and disguise thought. Now we have been through the greater part of this volume, — and who could insist upon more ? — meeting with no elevated sentiments or profound affections ; not a single appeal, whether animating or melting, to what is best in the nature of man ; scarcely a single point beyond the range of a smart wit and the lower emotions ; not, even by accident, one touch of natural pathos, or glow of holy aspiration. It gambols ; it spins webs ; it raves ; but it shows no purpose, or tendency, or effect, in any high, moral direction.

We plainly charge it with this fatal absence of what alone can give life. We complain of it for offending against reverence and decency, as well as against the sober sense of "Men and Women." We have toiled along its hard pages, often left in blank wonder as to what the author could possibly have in his mind. "Memorabilia," page 183, beginning,

"Ah, did you once see Shelley plain,"

may have some indirect and recondite sense, though entirely beyond our divining. We will quote but one line more:—

"Dumb to Homer, dumb to Keats — him, even!"

There is no room for questioning who are the poetic Gamaliels at whose feet Mr. Browning has been proud to sit.

And this is the first poetry bearing the imprint of 1856. The year begins badly. O beautiful spirit of Thomas Hood! whose words were simple as truth and transparent as clear air; — whose verses thrill with the sweetest humanity, and, in the freest flash of their sport, are as chaste as pearls; — who hast called forth more laughter and tears than any poet in this century, and the laughter is healthy and the tears are cleansing; — does not your monument, as it stands there in England, reared by a few among the millions who admire your genius and the pathos of your loving sympathies, — does not that gentle and half-sorrowful fame of yours, which will be fresh when the monument is a ruin, rebuke the antics and tricksters, who would build up a fantastic fame upon the most artificial of foundations? The melancholy fact is, that the English Muse has become bewitched with sorceries, and needs to be exorcised by such pure, natural voices as those that sang the exquisite melodies of the "Death-Bed" and "Bridge of Sighs"; and the "Psalm of Life"; and that Vision of Death, which has made its long Greek title as well known as the words of school-books; and "The First Snow-Fall," which has so hallowed one little grave that it is saintly enough for a pilgrimage. The genuine poet does not merely delight, instruct, and move his transient readers; but, without intending it, he is a teacher of his divine art and a reformer in the literature of his times.

Sacred Philosophy. God Revealed in the Process of Creation and by the Manifestation of Jesus Christ; including an Examination of the Development Theory contained in the "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation." By JAMES B. WALKER, Author of "Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation." Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1855. 12mo. pp. 273.

IN two books, of nine and seven chapters each, with an introduction and an *addendum*, the well-known author of "Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation" has given to the student of religious truth something better and more timely than a work upon the Evidences after the manner of Paley and the Bridgewater Treatises. Mr. Walker can hardly be regarded as a profound metaphysician, or as having sounded the depths of the great argument for the existence and attributes of God; but he is profound enough for the common reader, and, unlike many who attempt to go very deep, he does not often get beyond his depth. Rightly judging that evidence of the moral aim of the creation is what most persons need, he has endeavored, and with great success, to bring into the case redeemed man as the grand result and consummate flower of the whole. Beginning with the very first things, urging his way slowly through the seeming chaos, now floating with the mollusks, now swimming with the fishes, now crawling with the saurians, not a little perplexed as to what will come of it all, he looks at last upon the earth prepared for human habitation, and, following our race through their long and sad, and yet not hopeless career, comes out at length into the light of the "days of the Son of Man." And the point is, that it is all one plan, one manifestation of the Divine Law and the Divine Love, the end being proposed in the very beginning. It is an immense range for the mind's eye to survey. We are not only carried "from glowworm up to sun," but from the sea-weeds with their half-animate animals, graptolites, — carved stone coffins they have become now, and so we name them, — from the polyp laboriously building up the coral reef, from the crinoid, lily-shaped echinoderm, and the trilobite, the four original and exclusive inhabitants of the universal ocean, to the man in Christ Jesus, the child of God, for whom the whole material universe groaneth and travaileth. There has plainly been a progress, each new order surpassing its predecessor on the whole, though thus far certainly the evidence does not show that the greater was developed out of the lesser, as the author of the far-famed "Vestiges" would have us believe. In one very striking instance, the provision of coal-beds, we can see how the destruction of one age has promoted civilization and secured comfort for a period long subsequent. What would become of

us without those fuel mines that were garnered before our race appeared upon the stage! It did not come within the author's purpose to ask why the Creator confines himself to these slow movements, as they seem to short-lived men; and if it had, and the question had been put, we fear that an answer would not have been forthcoming. But amidst much darkness there is not a little light, and we do well to be thankful for it, and to gather into a glowing focus the scattered rays. Mr. Walker's book, unlike many books of a somewhat similar kind, will be to the increase of an enlightened and genial faith. It is exceedingly catholic in its spirit, not written in the technics nor bound to the service of any denomination, and we hope that it will go whithersoever its predecessor has gone, and be translated into as many different tongues. We especially commend it to all who have lost courage, and have come to the conclusion, that, if the world cannot be thoroughly redeemed in this century, we may as well give it all up.

Caste: a Story of Republican Equality. By SYDNEY A. STORY, JR. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and Company. 1856. 12mo. pp. 540.

ANOTHER anti-slavery novel, and yet, if our readers can believe it, in a new vein. The moral of the book is levelled not so much against the institution of slavery taken by itself as against that wicked and senseless prejudice against color which prevails North and South, — at the North even more than at the South. As our missionaries in the East Indies find caste a fearful obstacle there, and have hitherto, we believe, been compelled to make some compromises with it, so the professed Christians of this country, part of Christendom though it is, make small progress in expelling from their own breasts, or from the practices of the community, the feeling that the African must be treated as an inferior being. Our own Commonwealth has done something right and practical in breaking up the colored schools, and scattering the scholars through the various districts, as other human children are apportioned. We are informed by those who have had opportunities to observe the working of this method in our cities, where alone it is a new thing, that it has been every way successful, and that the new-comers are not by half so objectionable as the Patricks, Michaels, and Bridgets who come to our free schools to be clothed and washed, many of them, as well as taught to read and spell. The scene of *Caste* shifts from the North to the South, and back again, and across the Atlantic

to Southern Europe, following the fortunes of Helen and Charles Dupré, children of Colonel Bell and his gifted and beautiful quadroon wife or mistress, whom the father, after the death of their mother, had sought to shield against the caste feeling by removing them far from himself and all who had ever known them as children, and surrounding their youth with the influences and the friends of a Northern home. But murder will out. The father labored in vain. Even a practised eye could hardly read the story in the faces of son and daughter; but the facts came out through the malice of Clara Bell, the Colonel's second wife, and sorrows hard to bear fall upon the innocent brother and sister, more and greater in our free communities than in that portion of our country where slavery is legalized. The story is well and forcibly told, and the characters are well drawn. The negroes talk as in other books of the kind, therefore, we presume, correctly after their manner. The Colonel's revenge upon his wife, by shutting her up for life in a private *madhouse*, though in itself not so very bad a disposition of her, would be considered, even in these days when the woman question has only begun to get a hearing, rather a stretch of the right of custody of the wife's person which the common law secures to the husband. Such things are done sometimes, perhaps, even out of novels; hardly, we should think, where the victim must have seemed to the superintending physician as sane as the average of us. The *gilded irons* and the magnificent sets of dresses and jewelry must be regarded, we are satisfied, as belonging exclusively to the novel. Bating a little of this sort, which strikes us as not quite *vraisemblable*, we have found the book entertaining and profitable. The author's name is new to us. We have no reason to doubt that it is real, unless it be that we seem to discern a woman's hand in the work.

The Age of Fable; or Stories of Gods and Heroes. By THOMAS BULFINCH. Boston: Sanborn, Carter, and Bazin. 1855. 12mo. pp. 485.

If the poor and pious student whom the elder Scaliger overheard thanking God, in his devotions at church, for his great mercy in raising up makers of dictionaries, had lived until our day, and had not grown too illuminated and rationalistic to thank God for anything, he would have inserted a special clause in his offering of praise for the author of the *Age of Fable*, even going so far, perhaps, as to pronounce his name. It is exceedingly desirable to understand classical allusions, and to be familiar

with the literature of fable, Grecian, Roman, or Scandinavian. But nothing is more wearisome than a dictionary of any sort, and after one has made use of the great, dull book to learn the meaning of words that are translatable, it is rather discouraging to be sent with a "see this" or a "see that" from Dan to Beersheba, through a dictionary of proper names. By a very pleasant process, interweaving verse with prose, and avoiding everything that would deter the unlearned, Mr. Bulfinch has succeeded in putting within the reach of a mere reader what is good and agreeable to know of gods and heroes, and of those who have written about them in verse. The Northern mythological stories have a place with the rest, and Eastern fable is not forgotten, so that the young student has more than a guide and helper in the perusal of the Greek and Roman classics. How much turning to notes and fumbling of the dictionary will be saved to the boy who will read over carefully two or three times this collection, if he will only so call them, of fairy tales. He will find them not only pleasantly narrated, but set down with accuracy, if we may apply such a word where in truth it can only be said that the old lies are told in the old way. We mean that this work of Mr. Bulfinch is not to be confounded with that charming "Wonder Book" by Hawthorne, which takes the old mythological narrative simply as a basis of the story, and builds upon the foundation a structure more Gothic than Grecian. The value of this book is greatly increased by a very full index.

The Onyx Ring, by JOHN STERLING. *With a Biographical Preface*, by CHARLES HALE. Boston: Whittemore, Niles, and Hall. 1856. 12mo. pp. 263.

EVEN those of our readers who followed this charming story along the pages of Blackwood will be glad to refresh their remembrance of it through this pleasant little duodecimo, whilst those to whom it is new will welcome in this attractive form one of the richest and best productions of a truly good and gifted man, a man in whose praise it is sufficient to say that he gained in his short life the enthusiastic reverence and love of Julius Hare and Thomas Carlyle. This "onyx" is a true jewel, refreshing to human eyes, and worthy to be regarded as an ample reward for one who had been laboriously dealing with much rubbish. The value of the story lies in its pure, deep sympathy with all that is best and most hopeful in human life. By virtue of his magic ring, the hero of the narrative enters into the consciousness of the various men about him, learns their power and

their weakness, and is glad at last to be himself, and to do and suffer and rejoice as God meant he should. The light of a sweet, genial, loving spirit, if not of the highest genius, streams out from the page, as the mystic brightness gleamed from the gem. To any one who may have entertained the question about the orthodoxy of Sterling's religious opinions during the latter portion of his life, it must be of interest to know that this book, so truly Christian in its whole tone and coloring, was written *after* he retired from the Church, as Mr. Carlyle supposes, on account of religious scruples. Mr. Hale's opening sketch of the author's life will be very useful and acceptable to the general reader.

Conversation ; its Faults and its Graces. Compiled by ANDREW P. PEABODY. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe and Co. 1855. 16mo. pp. 140.

DR. PEABODY has very properly dedicated this little volume to American teachers, for every instructor of youth in our country would be aided in his professional labors by having a copy of it on his table for reference. It is not, however, a book for teachers alone, but one that is happily adapted to general use. It should be read and consulted by all persons who desire to speak the English language with that elegance which adorns the conversation of ladies and gentlemen of genuine cultivation, of taste, and true refinement of mind.

This compilation does not aim so much at showing the illiterate how to correct their *vulgar* bad English, as at calling the attention of the educated to the *genteel* bad English not unfrequently heard in their conversation. It shows the importance of avoiding all coarser forms of speech in our conversation, and urges the educated to use no word or phrase, even in their more familiar colloquial intercourse, which is not drawn from "the well of English undefiled." For "words lead to things," and hence whatever tends to purify the daily speech of a people tends also to elevate the tone of their moral feelings.

We welcome this volume, therefore, as a timely and valuable auxiliary in the cause of polite learning, — a branch of the education of the present day which does not receive sufficient attention from our authors and teachers of grammar and rhetoric. We presume there is no other country in which *so large* a proportion of the native population speak the national language *tolerably* well, as in the United States; and yet we suspect there is nowhere else a nation in which *so small* a proportion of the educated people speak the language of their country with that pro-

priety of diction and utterance which lends to conversation its highest graces.

The subject of this little book is well presented under four distinct heads. Part I. is from the graceful pen of Dr. Peabody, and is written in such a pure and beautiful style as to satisfy the taste and prepare the heart to receive the salutary moral sentiments which pervade his Lecture. The three remaining Parts are reprints of popular English works on the use of language, omitting a few passages not applicable to American society. In another edition we trust the compiler will modify some of the criticisms in Part IV., and introduce specimens of our more fashionable, and hence more mischievous, American vulgarisms. For example, the practice of speaking certain words without sounding the *h* when it follows *w*, has been so long tolerated in this country that it is beginning to be considered a respectable, if not an elegant, way of pronouncing a large class of words in our language. One often hears from the lips of persons considered quite well educated such pronunciations as *wite* for white, *wip* for whip, *weel* for wheel, *wig* party for whig party, and many other similar mispronunciations. In our more cultivated families, however, nothing of this or any other cockney dialect is heard, even in their most unguarded conversation, while in others of less refinement there may sometimes be witnessed instances of this and other inaccuracies of speech, which should not be tolerated by any persons professing to speak the English language in its purity.

Illustrations of Scripture, suggested by a Tour through the Holy Land. By HORATIO B. HACKETT, Professor in Newton Theological Institution. Boston: Heath and Graves. 1855. 12mo. pp. 340.

THE plan of this volume is somewhat original. It combines the minute detail and orderly arrangement of a Biblical Dictionary with the interest of a personal narrative. The fragments of which it is made up are not fitted together like mosaic, but strung on separate strings, like beads, with variety enough of form and color to give to the whole attractiveness and beauty. At first sight, they seem to be carelessly put together, just as they have been picked up. But a close examination shows that they are artistically arranged, and follow a natural order. Mr. Hackett's chief pleasure in his journey through the Holy Land seems to have been in verifying by his own observation the accounts and the allusions of the Scripture story. He looked all along the way for witness of some passage of the Inspired Word.

— in the methods of travelling, the manners and customs of the native tribes, the phenomena of nature, the processes of tillage, the geographical and local peculiarities, — and he found to redundancy what he sought. From the beginning to the end of his tour, from Cairo to Corinth, no day seems to have passed without throwing for him light upon some phrase or fact of the sacred volume, which was his constant companion. Many of his observations have been noted by other travellers, and, in fact, could not escape even the most indifferent eye. Other observations, and those the most curious, are, so far as we know, first mentioned in this volume. We had marked numerous examples of these for quotation, but they multiplied so fast that we are compelled to omit them altogether.

The sincere and truthful tone of the volume is very charming. There is no straining after effect, and no hesitation, in acknowledging that things did not always appear as he expected to find them. Mr. Hackett tells only what he saw with his own eyes, and the personal impression which the scenes and customs of the Holy Land made upon him. Though his way varied but little, if at all, from the course which most travellers take in journeying through Palestine, his gleanings in it are very different from those which most travellers make and give to the world. He omits the great things which everybody has described, writes out no rhetorical enthusiasm about the grand localities of Hebrew and Christian history, but tells as most important those small matters which others set in the lowest place. The headings of his sections seem undignified in their simplicity. But his book has a value far beyond that of any ordinary book of travels. Without any pretension to scientific thoroughness, it will be a standard work for students of the Bible, a most timely aid to the teachers in our Sunday Schools, and convenient always for family reference. It is a book to read through at a sitting, — the more fascinating by its rapid kaleidoscope changes of subject and fancy, — yet equally good to keep for frequent reading. The only remark of Mr. Hackett's modest Preface in which we cannot concur is, that the *engravings* in the volume will be "*acceptable* to the readers." They are wretched wood-cuts without any merit, either of elegance or accuracy, and deface the beautifully printed pages. Their number is fortunately scanty.

We may add as a recommendation of this volume, that it is entirely free from sectarian peculiarities. It is impossible to tell by it to what school of theology the author belongs, or with what ecclesiastical body are his sympathies. We can only see that he has a decent reverence for the text as for the substance of the Scriptures, and that his spirit is humane and charitable. If

Mr. Hackett found in Palestine any illustration of the doctrines or the phraseology of Calvinism, or anything to confirm his own theories of the right way of baptism, he has suppressed his discovery. It is very difficult, however, for any one to find in Palestine proofs of the prevalent Christian creeds. We once heard a zealous Orthodox believer, sitting on the brow of the hill near St. Stephen's Gate at Jerusalem, where Olivet and Gethsemane and the valley of Kidron are close before the eye, confess in tones tremulous with emotion, how hard it was to believe that the sufferer who once walked and knelt and prayed in agony there was really the God of heaven and earth. The only illustrations of the Trinity in Palestine are the tawdry symbols which deform the walls of the convent churches ; you do not find them on the face of rock and hill and plain, or in the inherited custom of the stationary races who inhabit there.

The Progress of Religious Ideas through Successive Ages. By
L. MARIA CHILD. New York : C. S. Francis & Co. 1855.
3 vols. 12mo. pp. 450, 437, 478.

WE take up these volumes with feelings of gratitude and respect for the cherished authoress, which assure us of profit of some kind to be found in their perusal. The productions of her pen amused and instructed our boyhood, and we have ever since found food for heart and mind in her numerous — but none too numerous — works. Devoted as her writings have always been to the high service of truth and love, they have given her a deep place in the affections of her readers. In her present work, she has set before herself a task chosen with the utmost nobleness of motive, and pursued, of course, with candor and fidelity of effort. To say that the undertaking was too large for her, is not to qualify any praise which she deserves for her mode of performing it. Proceeding on the thought that there is a steady development and progress in the great ideas entertained by human beings on the primary elements of religious thought and opinion, Mrs. Child has aimed to trace the steps and incidents of this progress through the successive religions of the world. A few leading ideas answering to the real or supposed relations between the visible and the invisible, between the past and the present and the future, between human beings and other existences, between this world and other worlds, between life here and what may ensue upon it elsewhere, — a few leading ideas on these subjects constitute religion for all men ; and various modifications or embodiments of opinion upon them, with corresponding institutions and

practices, make up the prevailing type of religion for each race or tribe, or age or nation. Man's sole agency in elaborating these materials into a form of faith is not to be distinguished in any case from the implied or direct agency of God in revelation ; for as the materials on which man's thoughts are made to work, and the faculty of thought itself, with all intuitions and instincts, are furnished by God, it would be difficult to define what was man's sole agency in all these processes. Mrs. Child leads us through a survey of the world's religions, of those of them, we should say, which have sacred books, and endeavors to present to us their forms, their fundamental tenets, their development, and their spirit. India, Egypt, China, Thibet and Tartary, Chaldea, Persia, Greece, Rome, and the Celtic tribes, are thus challenged to give us a sketch of their faith, as an introduction to the religions whose records are contained in the Bible, and then the religion of Mahomet brings up the close of the survey. We marvel alike at the industry of the writer and at the graces of simplicity and purity of style in which she has presented its results. Very valuable extracts from various "sacred books," as well as from our ecclesiastical stores, judiciously selected and admirably arranged, enable the reader to look behind his guide, and to judge of the fidelity of her course, while he is left to form his own conclusions, as hers are not obtruded upon him.

The great embarrassment of the task which Mrs. Child undertook in this work was the utter *impossibility* of performing it. The recognition of the difficulties of her undertaking, which she makes with admirable frankness in her Preface, does not include what are really to us the most obvious and unavoidable obstacles in the way of a fair dealing with it. She recognizes the bias under which any one who has been educated as a Christian must necessarily examine and represent all the other religions of the world, and this is certainly a most sensible suggestion, one which we should have taken for granted as present to the mind of the distinguished and most estimable authoress if she had not expressed it. But there is a bias stronger and more operative over every exercise of the judgment than that. Having been educated under the Gospel of Christ, what is the opinion, the faith, concerning it, in which mind and heart rest in the years of maturity ? That question any one who possesses the eminent talents, the consciousness and independence of character, so marked in Mrs. Child, must be able to answer, and must be disposed to answer. Two very different results may shape that answer ; and according as one or the other of those results is admitted by the questioner, will be decided the two strongest of all the biases upon judgment through such an undertaking as these volumes pursue. These two biases may be equally strong, but they will

far exceed in strength any others that may trammel the perfect fairness of the most honest inquirer. If a Christian training has resulted in the firm conviction that Christianity is a direct and special revelation from God, miraculously attested, it will be regarded as isolated from all other religions, and as eminently raised above them, and this one conviction will decide the judgment to be pronounced upon them. If the result of a Christian training has wrought the persuasion that there is no special agency of Almighty wisdom and love involved in the Gospel, no degree of pre-eminence assigned to our faith among the other religions of the world will assure its certainty as regards doctrine, or its sufficiency as a solution of the problems of human destiny. Now we say it is impossible for one who is not a Christian to do justice to the view which a Christian takes of his religion; and it is also impossible for one who is a Christian to reproduce in his own mind, and to present with perfect fidelity, the conceptions and convictions included under other religions. Approximations may doubtless be made in either case to a satisfactory result attained by comparisons, and in proportion to the fulness of investigation, to the candor and impartiality brought to the inquiry, will be the degree of that approximation. Never, however, in any case, as we maintain, can an inquirer in this field so completely divest himself of the influence of his own hereditary opinions, whether he retains them or has rejected them, as to execute the whole task of thorough and impartial comparison with perfect fidelity.

Nor do the contents of these volumes answer to their title. We look in vain through them to trace any cumulative processes of wisdom, or steady refinement of gross speculations into pure conceptions, which alone can answer to the meaning of the word Progress as applied to religious ideas. Indeed, if the volumes follow anything like a chronological order, they would indicate in many respects a progress backwards, as the mystical pietism which Mrs. Child portrays in the first of the religions under review represents a higher exhibition of the religious sentiment than does Mahometanism, the last of these religions.

Our knowledge of all the religions of the world comes to us through Jewish or Christian channels, and so, beside the natural biases of feeling already referred to, there is another warping influence which must affect our judgments. The "ideas" incorporated in other religions have to be translated into our own ideas, and by our own ideas, before they will communicate themselves to us; and then it is not simply themselves that they communicate, but distortions also of our own conceptions. Mrs. Child has wisely sought to make what allowance she can for the influence consciously wrought from this source; but the difficulty

is that the misleading effect is wrought by an unconscious influence. How is it possible for a New England Christian to enter into the dreamy pietism and the genealogical divinity of a Brahmin of India ?

One very vital point in such a comparative review as Mrs. Child has undertaken concerns the relative antiquity of the various shapings and developments of the "religious ideas" traced out in her volumes. We think she has erred in accepting the too confident assertions of some modern writers about the presumed extreme antiquity of Hindoo and Chinese conceptions. We confess to being altogether sceptical as to any religious traditions, and much more, as to any records in monuments or on parchments associated with faith or worship, which go back to an earlier historic period than do portions of the Old Testament. We have yet to learn of any such memorials whose authenticity will endure a keen scrutiny. We ought not to close without recognizing the beautiful tribute of affection and gratitude which Mrs. Child renders to the blessed faith of Jesus of Nazareth.

Ghostly Colloquies. By the Author of "Letters from Rome," "Clouds and Sunshine," etc. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1856.

THIS is a pleasing, well-written series of interviews and conversations between such ghosts, of famous men, as Cadmus and Columbus, Sophocles and Gray, Salvator Rosa and Byron, Horatius and Beckford, Jason and Raleigh, Tacitus and Gibbon, Apicius and Vatel, Sejanus and Richard III., Marcus Brutus and John Adams, Praxiteles and Canova, Petronius and D'Orsay, Germanicus and Rienzi. The work, so far as we can judge, is done conscientiously: their earthly characters still hang around the spiritual personages, showing there is not only, as the naturalists say, a persistency in the species of animals on earth, preventing them from being confounded together, but a certain everlasting perseverance in the quality of each individual soul. The idea of the book is not new, though the title is novel and happy, and the execution such as to convey considerable information both of the ancient and modern world, and present some interesting contrasts of the old with the new manners and modes of thought. Even a moderate success in an attempt at the resurrection on earth of departed sages and actors in the theatre of time, is creditable to an author; for it certainly is a very bold undertaking to handle a problem which has at once tasked and foiled the imagination of a Landor. We give to the present

writer, in his certainly respectable and instructive performance, our little benediction ; and we tell him we think he has at least succeeded better in fetching back the dead, than many witches and wizards have done, and that the old makers of history, as creatures of his fancy, still talk and act more in keeping than some later worthies appear to do, when they rap out their meanings through mahogany tables. Perhaps the mediums, wooden or living, in the latter case will improve. At any rate we will thank every one who can bring us into real converse with the invisible great and good.

The Letters of Madame de Sévigné to her Daughters and Friends. Edited by MRS. S. J. HALE. New York : Mason Brothers. 12mo. pp. 432.

HERE are not all of these famous letters, neither is this their first translation into English ; but the present selection seems to be judiciously made, and in this neat imprint will meet thousands for the first time, besides making the introduction of an Epistolary Library, whose second volume is to be Lady Mary Wortley Montague, the subsequent ones ranging from Pope to Napoleon Bonaparte. We wish the brave enterprise success. We are glad it has fallen into this intelligent woman's hands ; we trust it may prosper far more than we expect in a community so dependent upon highly-seasoned dishes for their intellectual repast. We wish that it had been a Female Epistolary Library, because by confining it to one sex their sympathy would have been more engaged ; and because, from natural facility of expression, from so readily catching the floating aroma of thought, from readier sympathies, too, and a richer flow of fancy, women are confessed to write better letters than men. There is but one drawback, from which, however, this volume does not suffer : they are seldom so instructed in public affairs as to bequeath to us much historical knowledge in their familiar correspondence. This rare advantage fell to Madame de Sévigné : her great wealth, extended acquaintance, exalted reputation, excellent sense, and court favor, make her correspondence an invaluable guide-book to the most splendid reign France ever knew. French scholars will of course prefer the originals. We cannot accuse the translation of being written so exquisitely that it will always continue to be read for its language alone ; but it is generally easy and always lucid, presenting the Marquise's excellent sense and Christian spirit in a very attractive form. Excepting her bigotry towards the Protestant party, and her doting upon her daughter's

person, these letters are models of thought as well as expression, and deserve a place in every lady's library.

We wonder that Mrs. Hale resisted the temptation of saying anything upon the advantage of school practice in letter-writing, a branch of education to which no sufficient attention has yet been paid. With the immense extension of correspondence through cheap postage, to which the reduction of the present international extortion will give a new impulse, with the ever-increasing diffusion of our restless people, and the immensely widened circle of intelligent youth, agreeable, instructive, sensible writing is hardly inferior in importance to intelligent speech. Most ladies have occasion for no other kind of literary composition, but all have need of this. Always some member or friend of the family is absent, is at the West or upon a journey, with whom the young lady is the most natural vehicle of communication. If, however, her training has been to receive, not to impart knowledge, if her hand has been exercised merely upon formal essays, if her reading has never been directed to those graceful utterances of thought and feeling which have proved unexpected fame to many a female letter-writer, she will have reason to complain that the best part of her preparation has been forgotten. Our idea is, in a word, that every young woman completing her school studies should be just as ready to express herself by pen as by tongue,—should be equally free from grammatical errors, which is not now the case, and entirely able to make herself respected, appreciated, and admired, in one form of utterance as the other. As contributing to this result, we shall be glad to welcome the coming volumes of this Library, trusting that it will not be extended to undue length, nor made to include anything which has only a great name to give it currency.

Metrical Pieces, Translated and Original. By N. L. FROTHINGHAM. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1855. 12mo. pp. 362.

THAT a few — we will not, whatever our thought may be, add, *and the best* — of these "Pieces" have first seen the light in our own pages, must not forbid our word of hearty welcome for the volume now in our hands. Indeed, our gratitude for the rich music of their rhythm, and the sweet charms of their sentiment, is the rather craving of expression, because we have always esteemed it a privilege when we could relieve our often heavy pages with these melodies of sanctity. Varro tells of some two hundred and fifty theories of *Magnum Bonum*, the Supreme Good, as current in the ancient philosophy. There

are at least as many theories of poetry. If gratitude and personal esteem for any writer of verse be in our hearts as we are reading any of his numbers, it would not be strange if those feelings should enter into and help make up *our* theory of poetry, for the occasion at least. However, whether it be that we are so influenced or not, we say there is poetry in this volume; fancies fair and high; images and semblances of truth which win a way for it, through a delight to the ear, to a welcome in the heart; holy and exalting lessons of pious trust and cheerful hope wrought in beauty like the rainbow from the relics of storm and tears. Of course, we prize the most the original pieces, and among these we select for a preferred love those which we have known the longest. In this method of our partiality we yield to the poet the highest tribute of an untaught rule of criticism, namely, in that, having written some of his earlier verses in our memory, we cherish the rather those which we can rehearse without the help of book. The hymns which have woven themselves into our associations with the sacred offices of our churches, are unsurpassed, in our judgment, for such uses, by any in our language. The especial grace and charm of them, as identical with their peculiar characteristic, is in their exquisite appropriation of our sacred symbols, the forms and objects and emblems which our faith has sanctified to its service, or adopted as the expression of its sentiments. Even the strictly Jewish symbols are so happily transfigured, as to leave us no effort in interpreting them as affiliated to a Christian meaning and sanctity.

But we must not forget to say what else there is in the volume besides what we love the most. We add, therefore, that it contains Translations of pieces from the Greek, the Latin, the Italian, and the German. How much of exact and elegant scholarship, and delicacy of apprehension, and severity of taste, and skill in rhythm, were needed to furnish in our hard mother-tongue answering representations of poems in these "learned languages," it would be needless to say to the initiated, and useless to announce to the uninitiated.

Unitarian Principles confirmed by Trinitarian Testimonies : being Selections from the Works of eminent Theologians belonging to Orthodox Churches. With Introductory and Occasional Remarks. By JOHN WILSON. Boston : American Unitarian Association. 1855. 12mo. pp. 504.

THE frank and simple story which this volume tells on its title-page concerning its contents, renders it quite unnecessary for us to multiply words in introducing it to our readers. The volume

contains — in a form so amplified and systematized as in fact to constitute a wholly new work — the introductory portion of the former well-known volume of the author, entitled, “Concessions of Trinitarians.” By a vast deal of study, and under the guidance of a most conscientious accuracy and candor in selecting and verifying his quotations, the author has gathered from Christian writers who are not Unitarians, admissions, avowals, and emphatic declarations, which fully authenticate the Christian character and the Christian sentiments and principles of those who profess Unitarianism. There is but one plausible objection which those whom the volume offends may raise against it. They may say, — some of them have said, — that it is unfair to quote what some writers have uttered in favor of views associated with heresy, when what they have uttered directly against the heresy is kept back. The answer which meets the objection is a simple one. These views associated with heresy are a main element of the heresy, and do even neutralize its heretical character. So that if the book succeeds in exposing the inconsistency of those who commend certain principles, and yet condemn the legitimate consequences and concomitants of them, it accomplishes very effectively its leading design.

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

WE have before us several valuable publications, which have crowded upon us in such numbers, and so late in the month, that it is impossible for us to do justice to them in our present issue. To some of them we must hereafter recur, that we may discuss them at our leisure.

Foremost among them all have come to us in the most attractive form of typography, from the firm of Phillips, Sampson, & Co., two elegant volumes of the “History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain,” by William H. Prescott. After enjoying the pleasure of a full perusal of these volumes, we hope in our next number to share with our readers the satisfaction of a little talk upon the story, and the way in which it is told. In the mean while we must express our thanks to the author, who receives from the public at large, in Europe and America, the same measure of respect and confidence as an accomplished historian, which he receives from those who know him personally for the graces, the courtesies, and the sterling excellences of his character as a man. The judgment pronounced in all quarters upon his new work is one of unqualified approbation.

Messrs. E. A. & G. L. Duyckinck, of New York, have published in a large royal octavo the first volume of their long-promised *Cyclopædia of American Literature*. Either before or after the completion of this work, we must pay to its laborious and faithful editors the well-deserved consideration of presenting to our readers a sketch of its method and contents. Their plan embraces a complete review of American Literature. An amount of research which only those who know something of its processes can appreciate, has been engaged upon those biographical and critical investigations necessary in retracing the course of literary progress, with all its stages and all its helpers, on this continent, for more than two centuries. Every excellent quality of patience, fidelity, impartiality, good taste, large culture, and thorough information has been required, and, so far as we can judge, has been exercised, upon this admirable work. Brief but lively Memoirs of the various writers, with the most characteristic extracts from their most characteristic publications, enrich these instructive pages.

For a series of years the welcome with which we always greet that excellent newspaper, the *Boston Evening Transcript*, was raised to an especial warmth on Saturday evening, because of a series of articles then in course of publication bearing the signature of "A Sexton of the Old School." Rare and rich learning, quaint humor, various wisdom, and the treasures of a richly stored mind, presented in all the moods of fancy, fun, drollery, and sage solemnity, characterized those papers. The writer of them was evidently the reader in a large library, a shrewd observer of the world of men, and a most skilful player upon the harp of human feelings. Though neither cynic nor stoic, satirist nor sybarite, trifler nor hypochondriac, voluptuary nor ascetic, there was still a rare combination of some of the least objectionable elements of all these humanities in his amazingly diversified sketches of incidents and men. Messrs. Dutton & Wentworth have published this series of papers in two beautiful volumes, entitled "*Dealings with the Dead.*" The writer of them is Lucius Manlius Sargent, Esq., and he deserves to succeed Sir Thomas Brown in bearing the title of the Poet Laureate of Death.

The author of "*Peter Schlemihl in America*" has given us a new production of his keenly satirical pen, under the title of "*Modern Pilgrims: showing the Improvements in Travel, and the Newest Methods of reaching the Celestial City.*" (2 volumes, 12mo. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co.) Though the work has some dull pages, and occasionally strains too hard after wit, and treats with injustice some of the serious matters of its satire, it may still be read with profit and pleasure. Its hits are often most fair even when the hardest, and its railery need not provoke ill-humor even in those whose infirmities it treats with some rudeness.

While Mr. Thackeray has been lecturing in New York and Boston upon those heavy lumps of coarse and vulgar humanity, the Four Royal Georges of England, Redfield of New York, a wise and generous publisher, has given us the *Lives of their Queens*, in two volumes from the skilful pen of Dr. Doran. In what one particular these royal personages, male or female, were elevated above the Fetishes who received the homage of the benighted Pacific-Islanders, it would really be hard to say. A sad, a very sad page in the history of idolatries,

folies, vanities, and vices is that which these memoirs fill. Still there is instruction in it. Dr. Doran has proved himself a most able, thorough, and conscientious explorer of the field over which his theme has led him. He has gathered faithfully every particular that can give interest or a serious moral to the subjects of his pages.

Messrs. Ticknor and Fields have published, in two of their familiar and easily managed volumes, "The Life and Works of Goethe; with Sketches of his Age and Contemporaries, from published and unpublished Sources. By G. H. Lewes." A cursory examination of these volumes has satisfied us of their claims to a deliberate and careful perusal. They are evidently filled, not with panegyrics upon Goethe, nor with second-hand relations of his life and works, but with the conscientious labors of a competent critic and investigator. As such we see that the work is highly commended abroad.

Very valuable and quite fresh information, gathered at this very point of time, on "The Russian Empire, its Resources, Government, and Policy," may be found in a book bearing that title, just published by Messrs. Moore, Wiltach, Keys, & Co., of Cincinnati. It includes the personal observation of a recent traveller from America, one who knew how to examine and inquire, and how to relate the results.

Messrs. Little, Brown, & Co. have ratified their promise to the literary public of a complete and elegant edition of the "British Essayists," by the issue of the first four volumes of the series, containing "The Tatler." The shape, style, and illustrative matter connected with this edition leave us nothing to desire. The enterprise is a generous one, and we have no misgiving as to its being generously acknowledged and supported. A new generation of readers, multiplied a thousand-fold beyond the number of any previous generation, will be sure to indorse the judgment of the wise and the good of an earlier age, that the old Essayists form a collection of writers to be valued equally for what they wrote and for the pure English style in which it is presented on the page.

Messrs. D. Appleton & Co., of New York, have just published an elegantly illustrated volume, in octavo size, entitled, "Village and Farm Cottages. The Requirements of American Village Homes considered and suggested; with Designs for such Houses of moderate Cost." The letter-press of the volume, which abounds in good taste, wise counsel, and practical experience, is furnished by Messrs. H. W. Cleaveland and William and Samuel D. Backus. The beauty of the designs here presented, and the attractions gathered round such homes as are here described, are enough to make us quite uneasy in our city dwellings. We commend the volume as an indispensable aid to those who are planning a habitation.

Though Mr. De Quincey declined to have the novel of his early composition, called "Klosterheim, or the Masque," resuscitated in the series of his writings issued by Messrs. Ticknor and Fields, another very busy and successful firm in this city, Messrs. Whittemore, Niles, and Hall, have ventured to thwart the author's own judgment by republishing the novel. We are glad of it. The work should not have been left to oblivion. It contains some of the finest tokens of De Quincey's genius, and will be sure of the favor of many readers.

"Mimic Life ; or, Before and Behind the Curtain. A Series of Narratives," — is the title of a new work from the pen of Mrs. Anna Cora Ritchie (late Mrs. Mowatt), just issued by Ticknor and Fields. It contains three Narratives, essentially true to the facts of reality and life.

"Phoenixiana ; or, Sketches and Burlesques, by John Phoenix," describes itself in its title. It is published by D. Appleton & Co. ; as is also, "The Irish Abroad and at Home ; at the Court and in the Camp ; with Souvenirs of 'the Brigade.' Reminiscences of an Emigrant Milesian."

John P. Jewett & Co. have published "The Heathen Religion in its Popular and Symbolical Development," by Rev. Joseph B. Gross.

Phillips, Sampson, & Co. have published an amusing but a wise book, called "Plain Talk and Friendly Advice to Domestics ; with Counsel on Home Matters."

Of Juvenile Works for the present season, the most attractive which we have seen are the following : —

"Love of Country ; or, Sobieski and Hedwig. Compiled and Translated from the French, by Trauermantel."

"Molly and Kitty ; or, Peasant Life in Ireland ; with other Tales. Translated from the German, by Trauermantel."

"The Bears of Augustusburg, an Episode in Saxon History. By Gustave Nieritz. With other Tales. Translated by Trauermantel."

These pretty books, attractively adorned with brightly colored engravings, and so fulfilling the most reasonable expectations of children, are published by Messrs. Crosby, Nichols, & Co. The same firm, encouraged by the wonderful success of their last year's little tableaux story called "Fanny Gray," the demand for which is still active, have issued another for this year, called "Harry and Aggie, or the Ride." From the same firm we have an agreeable compend of the more recent gems of poetry gathered from favorite writers, called "Heart Songs : a Book for the Gift Season," — embracing a large variety of sentiments uttered with the graces and the music of true verse. Also, a sweet little wedding gift, called "Buds for the Bridal Wreath."

Two other Juveniles are furnished by Messrs. Whittemore, Niles, and Hall, viz. : "Saint Gildas, or the Three Paths, by Julia Kavanagh" ; and "The Blue Ribbons, a Story of the Last Century, by Anna Harriet Drury."

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

The Theological School at Cambridge. — Most, if not all, of our readers are aware that the two Boards of Government in the administration of Harvard College, three years ago, invoked the exercise of the chancery powers of the Supreme Judicial Court of this Commonwealth, in a matter relating to the Theological School at Cambridge. The State, as successor to the Colony of Massachusetts, claims as the founder a right

of direct administration of the College. Though no evidence, satisfactory to all who have investigated the question, has as yet been produced in positive proof that the original grant of money voted by the Court for the foundation of the College was ever paid, and though the generous bequest of the private individual whose honored name the College bears was confessedly the treasury of its earliest years, the authority claimed by the Commonwealth has never been disputed in our legislative halls. This authority has been exercised by limitations in the chartered rights of the College, and by an official representation of the State in the Board of Overseers. Nor has this authority been restricted to the affairs of the College proper, the original academic institution planted at Cambridge, which alone owes anything to the public treasury. The four Professional Schools, of Medicine, Divinity, Law, and Science, which have gathered around the academical nucleus, and which never received anything from the State, but were all founded and endowed by gifts of private individuals, are equally with the College proper under the supervision of the Legislature through its official representation. No professor or instructor in either of these departments can hold office under the election of the President and Fellows, except by the approbation of the Board of Overseers.

The foundation of a Theological School in connection with the College was an incident associated with the progress of the controversy in the Congregationalist body which is referred to on our previous pages. The earnest desire of some religious and generous men among us raised the answering conviction in their minds of the possibility of connecting with a cherished literary institution — the oldest and the best in the land — an unsectarian Theological School. It was believed that the progress of a Christian liberality, the abatement of sectarian strifes, and the sympathies which might triumph over differences of opinion on subordinate points, would all favor the successful working of such a plan. Accordingly the endowments of the School were given to it in the exercise of the largest liberality, unfettered by sectarian conditions. Indeed, such sectarian conditions were recognized only to provide for the absolute exclusion of them in the use of the funds, and in the instruction of candidates for the ministry. Instead, however, of witnessing such a progress of "Liberal sentiments" as the founders of the School had fondly hoped would advance over this community, the result has disappointed them. The connection of a theological seminary with a "State institution" has been the occasion of much complaint, nor has the plea of the unsectarian character of the School been of the least avail to subdue opposition. The fact that a theological school founded and endowed by Unitarians, and expected to serve the interests of Unitarianism, was in any way connected with the College, has been the occasion of hostility to both these institutions. Some of the enemies of the unpopular sect have availed themselves of all the liberty which simple honesty would allow, and have on occasions even trespassed beyond that limit, in affirming that the influence and the funds of a State College were turned to the support of Unitarianism. If we chose to enlarge upon this point, we might remind all who are concerned in the matter, that of the million of dollars now constituting the funded property of Harvard College, more than eight hundred thousand dollars, that is, more than four fifths, has been given to it by Unitarians. But the opposition and the plea, fair or unfair, have answered the purpose of those who have urged them. The Corporation of the College

originally applied to the community for the funds which created the Theological School; but before a quarter of a century had elapsed, that honored body were made to feel that any interest or zeal which it exhibited in behalf of the efficiency of the School would be represented to the injury of the College. Accordingly, — whatever the fact, — the *appearances* of things for several years past have indicated that the Theological School must not look for the same hearty concern in the Corporation that was manifested for the fame and prosperity of the Law, the Medical, and the Scientific Schools.

One consequence of this state of things has been a gradual chilling of the interest of the early friends of the School, and a conviction that, however much or little the College might suffer from the connection, the Theological institution never would prosper as its founders had hoped.

The claim of the State to a direct share in the management of the College and all its Professional Schools, having been unchallenged, has within a few years asserted itself in ways indicating an intention of using its utmost authority in the case. The Board of Overseers is now to be regarded as constituted and chosen by the Legislature, with the express understanding that it shall include representatives of every political party and every religious denomination in the Commonwealth. To this Board the nomination of Professors for a Unitarian Theological School must be submitted. Its members must either put themselves between certain pledged funds and the appropriation of them according to the intent of their donors, or they must ratify and sanction the nominations for religious teachers of men whom they may regard as the abettors of fatal heresies. It was in view of embarrassments realized and apprehended from this source, that the chancery jurisdiction of the Court was invoked to relieve the College Corporation of the administration of the funds of the Theological School, and to commit them to another body of Trustees. The plea advanced was, that the original and superior functions of the Corporation were prejudiced in their exercise by a subordinate and incidental function, while at the same time the Theological funds could be and ought to be administered by a method better adapted to secure the intent of their donors.

The Court has decided that the case does not call for or justify its interposition to accomplish the end contemplated when its judication was invoked. Matters therefore remain precisely as they were, and so they must continue. Of course we cannot enter into any criticism of the decision: we will not even express our feelings about the result.

We have no objection to making a candid and full announcement to all interested in the fact, who may not be aware of it, that, though the Theological School funds are the gifts of Unitarians, there is nothing to hinder their being used by any denomination of Christians. Should the changes with which time is big, and the strange courses of events which experience leads us always to look for, ever give a prevailing power in the administration of the College to the Calvinists, the Baptists, the Methodists, or the Episcopalians, there is no word or letter hampering the use of a single dollar ever given to it by a Unitarian, which prevents its being turned to the service of either of those denominations.

In the mean while, we can see no relief for the embarrassments which may possibly arise in the Board of Overseers in its relations with the Divinity School, except in this suggestion, — that the Board might assign all its responsibility in the case to the members of the Committee chosen annually for the Visitation of the Divinity School.

"GET THE BEST."

WEBSTER'S DICTIONARIES.

Webster's Quarto Dictionary, Unabridged,
PUBLISHED BY G. & C. MERRIAM, SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

WEBSTER'S SCHOOL DICTIONARIES, VIZ.:

WEBSTER'S DICTIONARY, UNIVERSITY EDITION.

WEBSTER'S ACADEMIC DICTIONARY.

WEBSTER'S HIGH SCHOOL PRONOUNCING DICTIONARY.

WEBSTER'S PRIMARY SCHOOL DICTIONARY.

WEBSTER'S POCKET DICTIONARY.

Published by MASON BROTHERS, New York.

THE Publishers are happy in being able to present the following recent testimony from our own State, showing the appreciation of Webster in MASSACHUSETTS.

The following embrace ALL the State Normal Schools in the Commonwealth:—

STATE NORMAL SCHOOLS.

1. — BRIDGEWATER STATE NORMAL SCHOOL.

From Professor COMANT, Principal of the Bridgewater State Normal School.

Bridgewater State Normal School, September 23, 1884.

Messrs. MERRIAM: Like every one else who has taken the pains to examine the merits of the various English Dictionaries, I am fully impressed with the superiority of Webster's over all others. It is thorough and systematic; and though in some instances not agreeing with the orthography and pronunciation which certain individuals, cliques, and small communities may at present follow, I nevertheless regard it as the *Standard Dictionary* for all deep and correct knowledge of the English language. We use it as such in this institution.

M. CONANT, Principal of said institution.

2. — SALEM STATE NORMAL SCHOOL.

From Professor EDWARDS, Principal of State Normal School, Salem, Mass.

State Normal School, Salem, Mass., December 20, 1884.

Messrs. G. & C. MERRIAM: Webster's Unabridged Quarto Dictionary is our chief resource in this institution, in the study of the English language, to which a large portion of our time is devoted. We have copies of other elaborate Dictionaries, such as Johnson, &c., but so much more useful than any do we find Webster, that we have furnished our reference library with six times as many copies of it as of any other Dictionary. Indeed, for our use, I should not know where to seek a substitute for it. We consider that it furnishes for our pupils a better preparation for studying and appreciating English literature than any other single book. For my own part I should greatly rejoice to see Dr. Webster's improvements in Orthography universally adopted, as I have no doubt they will be in time.

RICHARD EDWARDS.

3. — WESTFIELD STATE NORMAL SCHOOL.

From Professor WELLS, Principal of State Normal School, Westfield, Mass.

State Normal School, Westfield, December 25, 1884.

I have always regarded the definitions of Webster's Dictionaries as greatly superior to those of any other work. In Orthography I have watched with much interest the tendency of general usage; and though I still feel a strong reluctance to giving up certain modes of spelling to which I have been accustomed, I hold myself responsible to conform to the usage of the best writers, as the highest law of language. This usage, I am satisfied, is inclining more and more to the standard of Webster, as modified by Goodrich. W. H. WELLS.

4. — FRAMINGHAM STATE NORMAL SCHOOL.

From Professor STEARNS, Principal of the Framingham State Normal School.

State Normal School, Framingham, January 10, 1885.

Webster's Unabridged Dictionary is our chief reliance in regard to definitions and derivations, and is in use almost hourly by the pupils.

EBEN L. STEARNS.

5. — LANCASTER NORMAL INSTITUTE.

From Professor RUSSELL, of the New England Normal Institute, Lancaster, Mass., formerly Editor of the *American Journal of Education*, and a distinguished Educationist.

New England Normal Institute, Lancaster, Mass., January 16, 1885.

The edition of Dr. Webster's Dictionary, revised by Professor Goodrich, I would earnestly recommend to the attention of teachers who are desirous of becoming fully qualified to give instruction in the English language. The copious information which that work embodies on all topics connected with Etymology—the extreme exactness, as well as the number, extent, and fullness of the definitions which it furnishes to every important word—render it a mine of philological wealth to instructors. The volume is, in fact, the teacher's encyclopedia, as well as lexicon, for daily reference. Could a copy of it be provided as the permanent property of every district school, the effect, as regards the improvement of instruction, would be deeply and extensively felt in the increased skill of the teacher and the higher attainments of his pupils, in the most important part of education—the acquisition of an adequate knowledge and proper use of our language. In reference to the modifications of orthographical notations presented in Professor Goodrich's editions of Webster's Dictionary, I cannot, perhaps, express my opinion more definitely than I have had occasion to do in my manual (now in preparation) entitled "Exercises on Words." The following is the note to which I refer: "The critical judgment and refined taste of Professor Goodrich have left in his editions of Webster's Dictionary little ground of objection in regard to the peculiarities which proved the only drawback from the value of the original work."

WILLIAM RUSSELL.

As the attention of Committees, Teachers, &c., is solicited to the importance of securing purity and uniformity of language, by the use of such a NATIONAL STANDARD.

[From Hon. John C. Spencer.]

ALBANY, June 18th, 1851.

MESSRS. G. & C. MERRIAM,

Gentlemen:—After the testimony to the extraordinary merit of Dr. Webster's Dictionary of the English Language which has been borne by the illustrious Statesmen, Scholars, and Writers of this country, and by the most competent judges in England, it seems almost presumptuous for me to express an opinion on the subject; but as your polite note of the 16th inst. seems to invite such an expression, I comply.

More than twenty years ago I procured the Quarto edition, and have used it constantly ever since. My pursuits in life have rendered it necessary to consult it frequently, as well as other works of a kindred or similar character, particularly Dr. Johnson's Quarto of the latest and best edition, Richardson's Dictionary, Crabbe's Synonyms, and Horne Tooke's Diversions of Purley. In professional, political, and literary discussions, the turning point of the argument has often been the exact meaning of words, as ascertained not only from their use, but from their derivation: while in many cases, perhaps in a majority of them, the works referred to have failed to give the desired information, that of Dr. Webster has always furnished precisely what has been desired, and I have long felt individually indebted to the illustrious author, for the labor and time he has saved me by his unwearied patience, profound learning, and unsurpassed industry.

It is unquestionably the very best Dictionary of our language extant. It is a model of copiousness and precision; and its great accuracy in the definition and derivation of words, gives it an authority that no other work on the subject possesses. It is constantly cited and relied on in our Courts of Justice, in our Legislative bodies, and in public discussions, as entirely conclusive.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that such a work is a treasure which cannot be dispensed with by any one who would thoroughly understand and correctly use his mother tongue. It should be in every school in our land, that our youth may not be obliged, as I have been, to unlearn the false pronunciation, the unsound philology, and the erroneous definitions, which were taught me in my childhood.

The elegance and correctness of your edition, so cheap for a book of its size—one-third of what I gave for the first edition—are alike creditable to your taste and enterprise, and worthy of the great work which will ever stand forth a monument of the science and literature of our country.

John C. Spencer

DICTIONARIES IN BOSTON.

The following article appeared in the "Mercantile Library Reporter," for March, 1855, being voluntary testimony from the pen of the librarian.

In the contest which is being waged between the Springfield and Boston publishing houses, as to the merits and popularity of their respective dictionaries, it seems to be claimed by the Boston publishers and their allies in the editorial ranks, that in this city and vicinity Worcester has almost the entire field to himself, and has carried the pickets on several outposts of the enemy's camp in other sections of the country. If Worcester is the standard authority in Boston, it is a singular fact that while the best editions of both these dictionaries are in the Mercantile Library, both side by side upon the catalogue, and both accessible to our members, Worcester has not been called for once, that the librarian or his assistants can recollect, for the past three years. This copy was placed in the library in May, 1848; it has still on its edges the original polish of the binder's knife; and were it not for the official stamps of the Association, it would pass for a new copy in any bookstore. Webster's Unabridged, which has been in the library since October, 1849, is in constant use, it being no unusual circumstance for it to be inquired after twenty times a day. We invite those who believe that Worcester is the standard authority in Boston to a personal examination of the two copies in this library, and the other facts we have stated. The condition, also, of the copies of the two dictionaries in the Boston Athenæum indicates the same fact, though not in so marked a manner — that, whichever is the standard authority in Boston, Webster is the one that is used.

We are well aware that the editors of several of the daily journals in this city take great satisfaction in lauding the virtues of Worcester, and in depreciating the merits of Webster; and from this circumstance, probably, the claim we have alluded to has obtained its chief support. Editors, however, are persons of strong local attachments, of like passions and prejudices with other men, and often in less favorable positions for observation; frequently they are surrounded by influences of which the public little dream, and on literary topics we must rely more on facts and on our own judgments than on their opinions. From the respect we entertain for so great and admirable a work

as the American Dictionary, we have deemed it our duty to give it the benefit of the facts we have stated.

Great as is the credit due to Dr. Webster for his thirty-five years of labor upon it, he is not its sole author; no one man could have accomplished such a work. To his son-in-law, Professor Goodrich, who, with an able corps of assistants, spent three years, after the death of Dr. Webster in 1843, in revising the work, and bringing out the unabridged edition—to Dr. Percival, the poet, Professors Silliman, Olmsted, Murdock, Gibbs, Tully, Stanley, Dana, and Thacher, of Yale College, who, by a division of labor, supplied and defined scientific words and technical terms, each in his own department,—is due, in a good measure, the popularity of the present quarto edition. If you step into a bookstore in London and ask for the best dictionary of the English language, the American Dictionary in quarto is handed to you. At Paris, Leipsic, and Hamburg it has no rival. The success of Dr. Webster in reforming many of the absurd philological anomalies of our language, which so excites the ire of foggy critics in this vicinity, is its highest recommendation in foreign countries.

Little more than a year ago, Mr. H. G. Bohn, the noted London publisher, when he reprinted Worcester, had the audacity to state on the title page that it was "compiled from the materials of Noah Webster, LL. D., by Joseph E. Worcester," a most mendacious assertion, for which he was severely censured by the friends of both the American lexicographers. The fact, however, is significant of Webster's popularity in England. The wily publisher, with a hand on the pulse of public opinion, and with an eye on business, would never have stolen the name of Dr. Webster for such a purpose unless it was one that inspired confidence with a British public. The great "Imperial Dictionary," edited by Dr. Ogilvie, and published by Blackie & Son, Glasgow, the price of which is twenty dollars, states in prominent capitals upon its title page that it is based on Webster, and in fact copies it almost entire. While such is the reputation of the great American lexicographer abroad, the publishers of the rival dictionary in Boston are showing him up as a quack and an ignoramus. In a statement of two columns in the *Transcript* of February 22d, which must excite the pity as well as contempt of those who are conversant with the facts of the controversy, making use of a letter written by an Edward S. Gould, they speak of him in this manner: "Webster's career was a mistake, because based on false assumptions. He assumed that the language needed reformation, and that he was able to reform it; the latter blunder being the far greater of the two."

In the battle of the dictionaries, the publishers of Worcester, and its critical supporters, carefully exclude from the discussion the most essential features of lexicography—those on which Webster far excels all others, and those on which the American Dictionary has acquired its present popularity. They

can see nothing between the covers of the huge quarto of fourteen hundred and fifty-six pages but a *spelling book*. They are continually harping on orthography, *orthography*; and all their published recommendations reiterate the beauties of Worcester's orthography, omitting to speak of the weightier matters of the law. We shall consider this matter of orthography presently.

We are not speaking of schoolboys or the abridged school dictionaries when we state that where one person consults a dictionary for the spelling of a word, fifty go to it for a definition or for an etymological inquiry; and what is wanted is not a general definition, — that the person is possessed of already, — or a conglomerate batch of definitions, after reading which the most natural inference is, that the word can mean any thing and every thing. What the student needs is a methodical, classified, and scientific arrangement, in which the derivation of the word is stated, its original meaning, then its secondary and derived meanings in regular order, with all its niceties of signification clearly set forth, and with examples under each division. The dictionary that best conforms to this standard, this universal demand of the student, will be the dictionary of the English language, let a few equivocal words be spelt as they may be.

Let us test the merits of Worcester and Webster in these particulars by citing an example from each — the substantive *suit*, for instance. Worcester has the following:—

SUIT, (sut,) *n.* [*suite*, Fr.] A set of the same kind; a set of things correspondent to each other; as, a *suit* of clothes: — a prayer; petition; request; courtship; pursuit: — consecution; series; retinue; suite. [See **SUITE**.] (*Law*.) A prosecution of right before any tribunal; as, a civil *suit*; a criminal *suit*; an action. — *Suit-covenant*, a covenant to sue at a certain court. — *Suit-court*, the court to which attendance is owed. — *Suit-service*, duty of feudatories to attend the court of their lord.

Webster for the same word gives the following:—

SUIT, (sute,) *n.* [Norm. *suit* or *suyt*; Fr. *suite*, from *suiore*, to follow, from L. *sequor*. (See **SEEK**.) In Law Latin, *secta* is from the same source.]

Literally, a following; and so used in the old English statutes.

1. Consecution; succession; series; regular order; as, the same kind and *suit* of weather. [*Not now so applied.*] — *Bacon*.

2. A set; a number of things used together, and in a degree necessary to be united, in order to answer the purpose; as, a *suit* of curtains, a *suit* of armor; sometimes with less dependence of the particular parts on each other, but still united in use; as, a *suit* of clothes, a *suit* of apartments.

3. A set of the same kind or stamp; as, a *suit* of cards.

4. Retinue; a company or number of attendants or followers; attendants; train; as, a nobleman and his *suit*. [This is sometimes pronounced as a French word, *sweet*; but in all its senses this is the same word, and the affectation of making it French in one use and English in another is improper, not to say ridiculous. The French orthography **SUITE** is rejected very properly by Jameson.]

5. A petition; a seeking for something by petition or application.

Many shall make *suit* to thee. — *John vi.*

6. Solicitation of a woman in marriage ; courtship. — *Shak.*

7. In *law*, an action or process for the recovery of a right or claim ; legal application to a court for justice ; prosecution of right before any tribunal ; as, a civil *suit* ; a criminal *suit* ; a *suit* in chancery.

In England, the several *suits* or remedial instruments of justice are distinguished into three kinds — actions personal, real, and mixed. — *Blackstone.*

8. Pursuit ; prosecution ; chase. — *Spenser, Cyo.*

Suit and service ; in *feudal law*, the duty of feudatories to attend the courts of their lords or superiors in time of peace, and in war to follow them and perform military service. — *Blackstone.*

To bring suit ; a phrase in law, denoting literally to bring *secta*, followers or witnesses to prove the plaintiff's demand. The phrase is antiquated, or rather it has changed its signification ; for to *bring a suit*, now, is to institute an action.

Out of suits ; having no correspondence. — *Shak.*

Suit-covenant, in *law*, is a covenant to sue at a certain court. — *Bailey.*

Suit-court ; in *law*, the court in which tenants owe attendance to their lord. — *Bailey.*

Here is a fair illustration of the respective value of the two works in fulfilling the essential requisitions of a dictionary. Hence we see why the unbiased student will never go to Worcester for a definition or a philological investigation when Webster is at hand ; here, also, we have the explanation of the fact that Worcester is not used in our library.

Now let us look to this matter of orthography. From its earliest history to the present day, the English language has been undergoing continual changes in its orthography. Our Saxon forefathers were valiant men, but they were not philologists ; and having no guide but the ear, each writer followed his own judgment or fancy in spelling. A great portion of Saxon words were written by different authors two or three different ways, and some of them fifteen or twenty. For hundreds of years this chaos of orthography continued ; and although there was a gradual improvement, yet even down to so recent a period as the latter part of the seventeenth century, the orthography of the language was so unsettled that the better class of writers frequently spelt the same word in two or three different ways on the same page. Such instances are frequent on the Massachusetts Colonial Records. Here is a specimen of the spelling of those days. It is from a deposition of Ann Smith, in 1672, on the matter of witchcraft, and is from Mass. Archives, Vol. 135, Folio 6.

" * * * and further the Deponant Saith, thatt if She Came again she would kill Her. and att another time Since thatt, She Sitting in the Corner, that there Came a thing like a Grey Catt, and Spake to Her, & Said to her, that if She would Com to Her on the Vgly Day, She would Give Her fine things, & further this Deponant Saith. nott. Ann Smith Affirmed to this Above writen ye 12th 8th m. 1672, before mee Samll Dalton."

The reader will perceive that some progress has been made in orthography within the last hundred and eighty-three years ; and the greater portion of it has occurred within the last fifty years. Few of us are so young as not to

remember great changes that have taken place in our own times; and they have invariably been for the better. The vocabulary of our language has wonderfully increased by the infusion of words and derivations from other languages, and these changes were never going on more rapidly than at the present. It is impossible to stop the enlargement or the reformation of the absurd inconsistencies of our language so long as it is spoken by such an active and enterprising race. Conservative criticism and a pertinacious clinging to effete anomalies will waste their strength and temper in vain. Individuals may remain behind; but the language is progressive. Horace lived in the golden age of Roman literature, yet he did not shudder, as some of our modern critics do, at changes in that beautiful language, in the use of which he was so skillful. He states a philological fact with regard to every language, as well as his own, when, in "*Ars Poetica*," he says,—

"Multa renascentur, quæ jam occidere, cadentque
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
Quem penes arbitrium est et juss et norma loquendi."

What our friends, the critical supporters of Worcester, would delight in would be an absolute and complete *petrification* of the orthography of our language in its present form—that is, as Mr. Worcester gives it; but which edition would best suit them we are not informed, as Mr. Worcester embraces the privilege, in every edition, of making his orthography conform more and more to Dr. Webster's standard. This stereotype process, applied to our orthography, could have been more consistently accomplished at any other period, in the year 1672 for instance, than at present. Never in any year was so much attention and learning bestowed upon philology, and never were so many important changes coming into general use, as in the year 1855; and it is an important fact in this discussion, that these changes are universally in the direction of Webster's improvements. Dr. Webster might have won more temporary applause by perpetuating the absurdities then in vogue; but like a true lexicographer, he chose to lead the van of reform, and to commit his reputation to posterity.

We consider that the comparative merits of the two dictionaries rest chiefly upon other grounds than simply of orthography, which is the only topic brought into discussion by the friends of Worcester, and those grounds we have before alluded to. The fact that the orthography of a dictionary conforms to venerable usage, such usage as we have considered, is a very small recommendation; and such a work requires very little labor or originality of investigation in its preparation. In the present unsettled mode of spelling a few words and classes of words, it becomes every one to adopt such a standard as best conforms to the analogies of the language—to spell like a gentleman and scholar, and not like an automaton. In our own case we usually make our spelling conform to the standard of Webster, but not inva-

riably. We generally spell *traveller* with two *l*'s, because, having been accustomed to see that spelling, it looks better to our eye, although we confess that Webster's method of spelling the word is preferable, for the reason that words of two syllables, accented on the first, do not double the final consonants in their derivatives; and custom, which Horace says is the arbitrator of language, must in the case of this word eventually settle upon Webster's orthography.

We confess to a partiality for old forms and venerable customs. We never lay aside an old hat for a new one, or don a long-skirted coat in the place of our rusty, short-skirted companion, without a feeling of regret. A wise man, however, yields to the discreet suggestions of his hatter and tailor; for sooner or later fashion is sure to be revenged on us, if we undertake to thwart her decrees.

We see no need of a conservative gentleman's falling into a passion and losing his appetite because Webster spells *defense* with an *s*, when he himself has been accustomed to spell it with a *c* from his youth up. If he will consider the reasons for the change, his better judgment must approve of it. The word comes from the Latin *defensio*; in French it is *défense*; and in some of its English derivations, as *defensive*, we are obliged to use the original *s*. Is it not better and more philosophical to restore the primitive method of spelling the word, thus making the orthography of the word itself and its derivatives uniform?

The English receive such changes in orthography in much better humor than our friends the conservative critics before mentioned. These latter are the same gentlemen who conducted the memorable crusade against the New York publishers of Macaulay's History, for having the audacity to make its orthography conform to Webster's standard. The achievements of this campaign find no counterpart in history, unless it be in the exploits of the Spanish Don against the windmill. Having expressed their pious horror of such sacrilege, in every form by which the newspaper press, reviews, and magazines could convey it, — having caused another edition to be published, in which Mr. Macaulay's spelling was strictly observed, but which did not, by the way, in many instances, correspond with that of their ideal standard, Worcester, — Mr. Macaulay himself was finally appealed to for sympathy. Mr. Macaulay replied in substance that it was a matter of supreme indifference to him how they spelt his writings, provided they made him state just what he intended. He hoped they would make the orthography of his History correspond to the best usage in America; and he complimented the appearance of the New York edition. Such is the liberal tone of a large portion of the educated men of England; and when the heat of the present contest shall have passed, such will be the liberality of the educated men of America.

P.

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER ADVERTISER.

MARCH, 1856.

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THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

MARCH, 1856.

ART. I. — DR. BUSHNELL ON "THE CHRISTIAN TRINITY
A PRACTICAL TRUTH." *

THE subject which has been introduced to public attention, under the above title, in an article by a distinguished clergyman of a neighboring State, and which solicits that attention in terms so courteous and catholic, we venture here to take up; but not for disputationous controversy. The subject is too vast and awful for this. When we attempt to investigate the mode of the Divine existence, as far as it is comprehensible by finite minds, or to adjust the relations of those entities represented by the names Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, it is not in that dogmatic temper which feels that it has a side to maintain that the task is to be approached, but rather in that reserved, sedate, reverent, God-seeking spirit, which humbly aspires to know the grandest of truths, to be instructed in the profoundest of mysteries. It gives us pleasure to acknowledge the controlling presence of such a spirit in the article before us, as well as generally in the writings of its author. If his reasonings fail to satisfy us, we admire the candor as well as earnestness with which they are conducted. If we cannot agree in his conclu-

* *The New-Englander*, November, 1854. New Haven. Article on "The Christian Trinity a Practical Truth."

sions, we can heartily commend both the sincerity and the ability of his endeavors.

And yet we must be allowed to say, in the outset, that Dr. Bushnell exhibits less of logical accuracy than of the skill of the rhetorician, in arranging the materials for his argument. If he does not precisely "beg the question," he lays his foundation with postulates wholly inadmissible by those whom he seeks to convince. For example, the subject in hand is the *practical importance of the Trinity*; but the object evidently is to convince those who do not receive this doctrine that it is a truth of Christianity. Now this fundamental point he assumes as the basis of his reasoning. He begins by asserting that

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, when we look to find him offering what is most of all practical and distinctive in his Gospel, most necessary in that view to its power in the earth, *advances just the Christian Trinity, and nothing else.*" (!)

Again, after quoting the direction of Jesus to his Apostles to baptize "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," he asks :—

"What then does it mean, that Christ himself, the simplest and most practical, and, in the highest sense, most rational of teachers, in a parting charge to his disciples, gives them not any truth or vestige of truth over and above this one difficult, ever to be contested, *formula of Trinity?*"

And again :—

"As we pause upon it and ponder it a little more deeply, we begin to suspect that this *formula of Trinity* is given simply because *it is the Gospel* in its most condensed form of statement. . . . In some deeper sense of it open to him, the Trinity, as we are thus left to understand, is the underlying truth and contains the whole working matter of his Gospel."

The material thing above asserted is, that the Trinity was left by Jesus as an essential part of his religion. It was of much consequence to be able to carry the force of this assumption into the modified proposition Dr. Bushnell chooses to maintain. There is all the difference in the world between saying, "The Trinity is a subject of great practical importance," and, "The Trinity is a *truth of Christianity* of great practical importance." The former is, ostensibly, the proposition of Dr. Bushnell ;

but he so disposes the preliminaries of his argument as to give to it all the meaning and weight of the latter ; and thus, while proving the less, to which alone he addresses himself, he would secure the advantage of having demonstrated the greater, — a far more difficult, not to say impossible, task.

Having thus laid the foundation, Dr. Bushnell proceeds to state the case as follows : —

“ An issue is thus made up, it will be seen, between the ascending Redeemer on one side, and a very general sentiment or opinion of the Christian world on the other, regarding the practical import of the Christian Trinity. On the side last named, it is very commonly asserted that it has no practical value, and is only a kind of scholastic futility, which, if we do not reject, we receive as a faith wholly inoperative and useless. On the side of the Son of God himself, it is assumed to be, in fact, a condensed expression for all that is operative and powerful in the Christian faith.”

This is the issue which Dr. Bushnell has chosen to make up for argument. We quite agree with him when he says, that, “ Protected by so great a name [the name of Christ], it requires no courage in us to venture some considerations from our human point of view that may go to illustrate the intense practical significance of this great truth.” But did Dr. Bushnell think to ask himself, who would have the temerity to oppose him, who would venture championship of the other side, with the great name of Jesus Christ confronting him ? For ourselves, we decline it altogether. *We* have not “ courage ” enough. If Christ taught the Trinity, with us there is no longer an open question. It is an important practical truth, of course. Every truth is important practically. It may be a worthy effort to show the particular mode of its practical working, — and this Dr. Bushnell has done well to undertake ; but the main point is conceded at once. We therefore can accept no such issue as that which is thus tendered. The real issue embraces both what is assumed and what is attempted to be proved. For our own part, we have no difficulty with the Trinity which might not easily be overcome if we were satisfied that it is a truth of Christianity. This is the chief laboring point in our mind. Now this difficulty is not relieved by any number of assumptions or assertions. When

Dr. Bushnell calls the formula of Baptism recorded in Matthew "the formula of *Trinity*," our eyes are not thereby opened to see Trinity in that formula. The formula has the hearty assent of our faith. It is the loftiest utterance ever heard on earth. It comprehends all religious truth. The mind instinctively bows before it as containing "the whole working matter of the Gospel." We fully agree with Dr. Bushnell that "it is the Gospel in its most condensed form of statement." It is the resplendent inscription over the door through which the Church of the First-born is entered, — "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost!" But what authority for comprehending these under one barbarous name? Why blend the Sacred Three in a unity which confounds all real distinction? Why this interpolation of "*Trinity*"? The term expresses no idea contained in the formula. Indeed, the words of the formula seem to us to exclude the idea of Trinity. Suppose that, instead of the august names Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the formula had stood thus: "Baptizing them in the name of the Creator, and of the Redeemer, and of the Sanctifier." Would Dr. Bushnell have inferred that these three were one, and to be worshipped under the common name of God; and would he have called this the "*formula of Trinity*"? Does not every mind perceive at once that each of these has qualities and offices distinct from the others, constituting them separate entities, and that it is by a figure only that they could be called one? It surely would not be deemed unreasonable, upon any just interpretation of the terms, to affirm that of the three the Creator only is God, — the Original of all, the Underived; and that the other two, whatever their power and office, and however near to the Throne their place, being derived from the First, are not to be worshipped as God. But these substituted terms, if they do not exhaust the meaning of those in the actual formula, indicate their true import, and also the relation in which the Sacred Three stand to each other. And surely no one ignorant of our polemics, finding them there, would derive from their intrinsic sense authority to pronounce the three co-equal and co-eternal, or to compound a word, unknown to the oracles of God, which should represent them as though they were but one being. Leave them, we say, each in his own glory.

Do not confound them in the barbarism of Trinity. Let the Father be Father, and the Son be Son, and the Spirit be Spirit, for ever.

Respecting the proper object of Christian worship, we only observe here, that if the Apostles, at the moment of receiving their commission from Christ, had fallen down in his presence and exclaimed, "O Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three persons in one God!" or, "O Holy, Blessed, and Glorious Trinity! accept our worship," — we have no manner of question they would have been forbidden, as John was in Patmos when he fell down to worship the Voice that came out of the Throne: "See thou do it not. Worship God." For this would be in accordance with what he afterwards said to them: "Go to my *brethren*, and say unto them, I ascend unto *my* Father and *your* Father, and to *my* God and *your* God," — clearly implying, that he and they had a common spiritual origin and a common dependence, and therefore a common object of worship.

We advance one step farther with our friend in the preliminary part of his argument. As there have been many forms of Trinity, it was incumbent on him to define, or at least to indicate, that view of it, the practical uses of which he would set forth. "Not every Trinity that has been believed in is practical." "Indeed, conceptions of this great truth are held by many which are so far abhorrent from its proper simplicity, and so badly distorted by the perverse ingenuity of human speculation, as to oppose hinderances to the practical repose of faith, and even to counteract in a great degree the real benefit of the doctrine." What then is the form of Trinity held by Dr. Bushnell? He would forgive our countenance, we are sure, if it should smile at the assumption expressed in the answer. "We undertake," he says, "to show the practical value of the *Christian* Trinity, or Trinity of the Christian Scriptures." Well, what is that? It is admitted that the Scriptures offer no theoretic or scientific statement of the doctrine whatever. It is further admitted that they assume the strict unity and simplicity of God, that he is one substance or entity, only one. But it is maintained that they also assume that this "One will at least be most effectively thought as three, a threefold grammatic personality, or

three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." If we understand this statement, it means simply this: that, although in the Divine nature, regarded ontologically, there is no Trinity, but strictest unity, yet, because it is more easy to think of God as three than as one, therefore the Scriptures so represent him to us. "The three are not even called *persons*, but are only set in the *grammar of uses* silently as such." In other words, it is allowed us for practical purposes to consider them as persons, although they are, in fact, such only in some tropical or instrumental sense. The Trinity is thus held—we hope we do no injustice to the thought—as a matter of *form* or *language* accommodated to our finite wants and uses. It is true Dr. Bushnell speaks of "ascending to a point more interior, and to higher apprehensions of the subject; namely, to the discovery of something more interior, as a ground in the eternity of God, antecedent to the revelation in time." But when he has reached this point, does he find anything to his purpose? Or, like St. Paul returning from his rapture, is he unable to describe what he sees? To our apprehension, he advances not a step beyond his original position, which, assuming the strict unity and the infinity of God, declares that Trinity is needed "as a way of conceiving him and working our piety towards him"; permitted us, therefore, we may suppose, if not for the hardness of our hearts, yet for the blindness of our minds.

It would be less a matter of wonder that a metaphysician, like Dr. Bushnell, should have drawn from the capacious storehouse of his imagination the form of such a Trinity, if there were the slightest demand for it in the necessities of faith, or a ray of evidence to support it in the Scriptures. This is not the place to go into the question of Scriptural authority, yet we cannot dismiss the matter, even for a moment, without asserting strongly our conviction, that the Bible nowhere presents God to us as *three* even in form or language, but, on the contrary, is explicit in setting him forth as simply, strictly, and only *one*; variously manifested indeed,—in creation and providence as the All-powerful, in Christ as the All-merciful, in the Spirit as the All-holy,—but in himself one undivided essence of infinite perfection, the

Source of all other existence, the Original of all other intelligence and life.

The supposed necessity for a *representative* Trinity arises from the difficulty of conceiving the abstract nature of God. It belongs wholly to the speculative reason, which is for ever inventing schemes, to explain what its imperfection prevents it from seeing clearly. We are sorry to see a thinker like Dr. Bushnell, for whom we have so sincere respect, first losing himself in the maze of transcendental refinements concerning the Absolute Being, and then trying to find his way out by the scheme of Trinity, which is equally bewildering. Such refinements are always dangerous. Commonly they end in Atheism. The Stratos and Anaximanders, the Holbachs and Spinozas, whose philosophy leaves the world without a sustainer, are separated only by a narrow strait from those whose faith clings to God, but whose reasonings result in the denial of his personality. A non-personal God is really *no* God. The idea of personality is fundamental in all just conceptions of him. Indeed, it is essential to any conception of him whatever. There is no God possible to human thought without it. Pantheism is but another name for no-theism. Yet Dr. Bushnell is led, by the course of his speculations concerning the abstract nature of the Divine Being, to bring into doubt his personality. And he does this on grounds of which we cannot feel the force at all.

"God is not a person," he says, "save in a figure, as we shall see at a glance if we ask what constitutes our idea of a person. This we shall readily answer out of our own consciousness. What is a person, as we conceive the term, drawing on our own consciousness? A person is one who wills, putting forth successively new determinations of will, without which new determinations personality is null, and no agency at all. But God never does that: his determinations are all passed even from eternity. So a person thinks; or has successions of thought coming in as it were in file one after another. God never thinks in any such sense. As all his acts are done, so all his thoughts are present contemporaneously from eternity. . . . Literally God is not a person; for the very word is finite in all its measures and implications; because it is derived from ourselves."

Trinitarians have usually labored to convince us that

God is *three* persons, but here it is attempted to show that he is *no* person at all. This is the conclusion of a process of subtle reasoning, the links of which lie hid in clouds of abstraction. The Scriptures teach that "God made man in his own image." If man is the image of God, then God resembles man. But in what respects? Dr. Bushnell says, not in *willing*, not in *thinking*, not in *reasoning*, not in *remembering*. These are all acts of a self-conscious intelligence; and if not in these, wherein consists the resemblance? We answer, In the fact that each — God and man — is a self-conscious intelligence. The acts of such an intelligence do not constitute his being. The modes by which he manifests his powers are no part of his essence. Behind all processes of the mind is the mind itself, the self-conscious person, the *ME*. The processes of our mind may be altogether unlike those of the Infinite Mind, and still between the two minds there may be resemblance. Man is a being of five senses. But suppose one had neither of these, — suppose a child should be born of human parents without either of the five senses, would he be less a *person*? Starting from our own consciousness, it surely is not necessary to imagine him possessed of these senses in order to conceive of him as a person. Suppose a man should appear so singularly endowed, that by *one* act of thought or of will he could decide everything in regard to himself for his whole future! A very strange being this would be, undoubtedly; but should we hesitate to call him a *person*? Or, suppose one should appear with a sixth sense, by virtue of which he could look straight into heaven and see the white throne and him that sits thereon; should we deny personality to him because our experience gives us knowledge of only five senses? To every self-conscious being every other such being, whatever his powers, and whether man, angel, or God, is a person. Whether God wills after the manner of men or not, whether there be or be not succession of thoughts in his mind, whether he reasons and remembers or not, (concerning which no one can either affirm or deny,) being a self-conscious intelligence, though with will and thought and reason infinite, he is a *PERSON*. Personality is not a metaphysical conception. It is the assertion of a primitive fact of consciousness. The word is a figure

only, as all language is figurative. It has one universal meaning, and is applied by all men to themselves and to all other beings of kindred, however superior, powers. It is incapable of definition, because itself the simplest form in which the fact can be expressed. The moment it is denied to God, the Eternal himself is driven from the mind, and the link which unites the soul with its author is broken and cast away. If he is not a person in a sense analogous to that in which man is a person, then what is he to us but that immense platitude, half impersonated to the imagination to give it the semblance of reality, which pantheism baptizes and educates under the name of The All, but which it might as well worship as The Nothing?

Now we know of no one who would shrink from this result with more dread, than the author of the pages we are reviewing. No man is more reverent towards God. His profound love of truth, his deep and sincere faith, his catholic Christian piety, it would be a libel to call in question. But his strong desire to show a real want in the religious mind for the Trinity he has adopted, has carried him too far in this direction. Dr. Bushnell combines the qualities of a poet, a dialectician, and a mystic; and these make him a theorist, enthusiastic but not always quite clear; often original but also liable to be extravagant. The following sentences may illustrate what we mean. It is first affirmed that "literally God is not a person."

"We do not remember ever to have seen the fact noticed," (the idea is original,) "but we do exactly the same thing, as regards truth or intelligent comprehension, when we say that God is a person, that we do when we say that he is three persons, and there is really no difficulty in one case that does not exist in the other. As we can say that God is a person without any denial of his infinity, so we can say that he is three persons without any breach of his unity. Indeed, we shall hereafter see that he is set forth, and needs to be, as three persons, for the very purpose, in part, of mending a difficulty created by asserting that he is one person; that is, to save the impression of his infinity. The word person is *in either case a figure*, and as truly in one as in the other. And if the question be raised, what correspondent reality there is in the divine nature to meet and justify the figure, there can plainly be no literal correspondence between the infinite substance of God and any merely finite term, whether

one or three ; or, if we suppose a correspondence undefinable and tropical, it may as well answer to three persons as one."

An analysis of this passage gives the following result :
 1. God is not a person. 2. It is just as true that he is three persons as that he is one. 3. We can *say* that God is a person without any breach of his infinity ; and we can *say* that he is three persons without any breach of his unity. 4. He is set forth as three persons to save the impression of his infinity. 5. God is in reality neither one nor three. 6. Or if he is, he is just as much one as the other. We must be excused for still thinking that the simple declaration, "The Lord our God is one Lord," is more satisfactory than the substitute, "The Lord our God is a THREEFOLD Lord."

We advance now to the main points of the argument ; the first of which is, that Trinity is needed "*to save the dimensions or the practical infinity of God consistently with his personality.*" In order to a just idea of God, it is necessary to conceive of him as a being really infinite and at the same time as existing in terms of mutual relation with man. But this twofold conception can be fully attained, it is argued, only by help of that form which Trinity gives to our idea of God. Departing from Trinity, the mind comes on one side to Pantheism. God is the All. His infinity is saved, but his personal relation to man is lost. Personality is merged in boundlessness. On the other side we come to Unitarianism, which represents God as a personal being and as one person. This saves the relational state altogether. God is a person, a Father eternal, creating and ruling the worlds and doing all things for the benefit of his children. But in thus bringing him under the conditions of personality, we limit him ; the boundless dimensions are lost, his infinity is practically taken away. The one God, the great Father whom Unitarianism sets forth, contrary to all its preconceptions, becomes a name without magnitude or any genuine power of impression. The figure of a one personality, and seeing God always under that figure, drags him down by the force of its finite associations. This conception and worship of him as One Person, which is nothing but a metaphysically finite conception, while gaining one point, the reciprocal relationship, parts with everything necessary to the grandeur, the transcendent wonder, the immeasurable vastness, of God.

This difficulty is obviated, it is thought, by giving to the Divine personality a less restricted character, — by *threeing* it, — or by supposing it to pass freely from Father to Son, and from Son to Spirit, without being confined to either. Thinking of him as Father, we preserve the relational feeling, which, however, limits his infinity. It is therefore necessary to pass in thought from Father to Son, and from Son to Spirit, confining the mind to neither, in order to escape from this limitation, and, at the same time, not to lose the feeling which is held by it. "In this way the mind is thrown into a maze," Dr. Bushnell says, "of *sublimity*." We should omit the last two words if we were to express our own view of it.

We have but little time to spend on this part of the argument. The difficulties suggested in it, we apprehend, are wholly imaginary. No Unitarian, we venture to say, has ever felt that his conception of the infinity of God was straitened or confined by that of his single personality. Besides, the idea of three persons is just as much a limitation as that of one. Indeed, it is more so. The idea of one may dilate to the infinite breadth of the heavens; but the idea of three supposes that one shall leave room for another. Each limits the other two. But, as we have said, the difficulty is purely imaginary. The sense of God's infinity will take care of itself. It spurns all limitations, and will not be held by them. Heathenism tried to cramp it by distributing the attributes of the One amongst a multitude of inferior deities. But in vain. Over all these gods of the nations it soared into the everlasting heights, spreading itself out to the amplitude of the universe, and above the mightiest and the cunningest of the many still enthroned the One. To say that there is something grander, higher in majesty, "heavier on the soul's feeling," in the conception of God as existing in three persons, than in that of a single personality, is contrary to all the analogies of the case. Moral force the more it is concentrated becomes the more august. All the spiritual power in the universe brought together in one mass would be far more awful and heavy on the soul's feeling than it is in its diffusion. The bringing of three persons as God before the mind serves only to confuse thought and to prevent that concentration of the soul's powers on a single object of worship which it

seems to have been a leading design of revelation to effect. Besides, where do we find the loftiest conceptions of God's infinity expressed in human speech. Where is the majestic and awful grandeur of the Divine nature set forth in terms of impressiveness and sublimity such as no language of ours can equal? Where do Trinitarians find words in which to utter their profoundest sense of the transcendent and unapproachable glory of "the High and Holy One"? We answer, In the scriptures of men who believed in and taught the simple unity of God. Not in Heathen poets who sung a multifold personality, but in Hebrew prophets who adored the One Living and True, and who never gave the remotest hint that this God existed in three persons.

Our Saviour said, "When ye pray, say, Our Father which art in heaven!" He did not fear the limitation of the infinity of God, which Dr. Bushnell dreads, by the use of this blessed name. When he himself, addressing the Deity, said: "I thank thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth," — does any one suppose that he included himself in the Object of that ascription? or that he needed the other terms, "Son" and "Holy Spirit," to keep the conception of Father from degenerating in his mind into that of a limited Divinity? or that this was a "name" to him "without magnitude or any genuine power of impression"? or that the Trinitarian God would have been to him "more a God, higher in majesty and heavier on the soul's feeling"? These are questions which admit of but one answer, that in itself is the highest sanction of the theology Dr. Bushnell characterizes as "a cold and feeble monotheism!"

The second point in Dr. Bushnell's view of the Trinity presents it as having a practical relation *to our character and our state as sinners. It is the instrument and co-efficient of a supernatural grace or redemptive economy.* Dr. Bushnell rejects the old notion of an infinite atonement. The Trinity is not needed in that view, but rather as answering to the twofold Divine economy, the one of nature, the other supernatural, which require, it is supposed, a twofold conception of God. If the universal economy included nothing but nature, — a realm of complete systematic causation symbolizing the regulative mind of God, — the single conception *God* would answer

all necessary uses. There would be no need of Trinity. In other words, nothing in nature, its laws, its operations, its mysteries, — nothing in the mind, regarded simply in its relations to nature, — requires the Trinity.

But the universal economy includes another department, namely, the *supernatural*. There is no provision in nature, it is contended, for redemption from sin. When the moral law is violated, all that nature does is to punish. "The penal train is a run of justice, and the run is downward even for ever; for it is inconceivable that disorder should ever beget order. Nothing but a force supernatural can restore the mischief." God's economy, then, must comprehend the two factors, — nature and the supernatural, — a kingdom of Nature and a kingdom of Grace. Now, being in a state of retributive disorder, to be recovered from it, related thus to God as the Head of the two economies, and having our salvation to seek under their joint action, how shall we be able to conceive God in any manner that will set him continually in this twofold relation towards us? There is no intellectual machinery, it is said, in a close theoretic monotheism, for any such thing as a work of Grace, or supernatural redemption. We should say, beforehand, that no such thing can ever be; for how can God rescue from his own causes, and open a way through his own retributions? If we have only the single term *God*, then we must speak of God as dealing with God, contending with the causations of God, the grace-force of God delivering from the nature-force of God. It is God sending God into the world; God within graciously mastering the retributive causations of God within. The Trinity gives us such a conception of God as exactly meets that higher and more comprehensive view of his kingdom in which it includes and harmonizes the two economies, nature and the supernatural. First we have the term *Father*, which sets him before us as the King of nature. Next we have the *Son* and the *Spirit*, which represent the supernatural; the Son coming into nature from above nature, incarnate in the person of Jesus, erecting a kingdom in the world that is not of the world; the Spirit coming in the power of the Son, to complete by an inward supernatural working what the Son began by the address he made without to human thought and the

forces he imported into nature by his doctrine, his works, his life, and his death.

Great problems, it will be seen, are opened here. The penal effects of sin, — the possibilities of human nature in the direction of self-recovery, — nature and grace, their agreement and difference, — the mediatorial office, — the relation of God through Christ to humanity, — these are some of the all-concerning questions which are propounded. They are questions of such a nature that all dogmatism in reference to them is sheer presumption. No one is less offensive in this particular than Dr. Bushnell. His theory is woven with so delicate a thread into a warp of clearly perceived truth, that it is difficult to distinguish it and view it by itself. Yet this needs to be done. The fallacy of the argument consists in assuming an apparent for a real fact. It is a convenience to thought, no doubt, to divide the operations of God, as man is affected by them, into two economies; yet it is evident that all are truly comprehended in one vast scheme, and that throughout the whole is felt the energy of one and the same Infinite Life. From the beginning, God has interpolated nothing into his plan. Nature is not one system, and grace another, contrived to make up its deficiencies. Grace is not a supplement of nature. It is as old as man. It breathed on Adam both before and after he fell. It opened his eyes to see the Lord God. It came down to him in the spirit of repentance, and strove with his soul shrinking from perdition. It wrote the Divine Name above the door of the patriarch's tent, and touched his heart in dreams which he could interpret only as whispers of angels. It kindled up the heavens with a spiritual glory before which the elder prophets stood in amazement, whilst they adored the Eternal Majesty it enshrined. It gave the Law to Moses, Tabernacle and Temple to Israel. Nay, it antedates all these; for before the foundations of the world were laid, the Lamb was slain, and every spiritual want of man provided for in the all-encircling economy of Him who is "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever." Means have always been commensurate with exigencies. As sin increased, the Divine provision went on unfolding itself into new measures of grace, till it reached its fulness and consummation in the sorrows and agonies, in the amazements

and sublimities, of Calvary. The Love which shone in the face of Jesus Christ was in the beginning with God, and was God; and the mighty power which, through him, raised the dead, is the same that created the world. Man has never been without a Redeemer. "Before Abraham was, I am." The consequences of breaking the law moral never were irremediable. It is not true that "the penal train is a run of justice, and that the run is downward even for ever." The law which punishes also restores. As written in the Bible it stands, "The soul that sinneth it shall die," with this important proviso: "If it turn from the wickedness it hath committed, and do that which is lawful and right, it shall not die, but live." The proviso is a part of the law; its foundation from everlasting, in the nature of things; and its operation is commensurate with the universe and the eternity of God.

Conceiving Nature and Grace as two distinct economies, Dr. Bushnell thinks the simple term *God* not sufficient to express his relations as Head of both. Other terms are needed to fill up the space between, and harmonize the two. The two economies being in some respects antagonistic, and God being the Head of both, it becomes necessary to speak of God as "dealing with God, the grace-force of God contending with the nature-force of God." But we see not how the Trinity obviates this difficulty. For if the Father be God of nature and the Son God of grace, and if these are not two Gods, but one, we still have "God dealing with God, the grace-force of God contending with the nature-force of God."

Now *we* avoid the difficulty by denying the hypothesis from which it springs. In no sense are nature and the supernatural antagonistic. Both are parts of one stupendous whole, animated by one Life, controlled by one universal Law. There is no strife of opposite forces in the case; and therefore no need of two names to designate the Head of all. When one bows in love and adoration before Him who made the heavens and the earth, he is under no necessity of shifting his conceptions into another mould in order to worship in spirit and in truth the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. When a poor sinner, stricken in heart by the conviction of his

guilt, desires to be cleansed and sanctified by the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and for this end turns to Him who, being "almighty to create," is also "almighty to renew," he finds the single term FATHER comprehensive enough for all his needs. The machinery which Dr. Bushnell discovers in the terms of the Trinity, and thinks so well accommodated to our sin and the struggles of our faith, we find no use for. Indeed, it seems to us to thwart the very purpose which it is thought to subserve. We deny not the need of the terms "Son" and "Spirit" as representing instrumentalities whereby God will have all men to be saved, and to which faith clings as the Way, the Truth, and the Life. The Christian cannot express his soul's wants or hopes without them. But not as members of a Trinity, which confounds the distinction between them and the true God, and so virtually leaves us without them, are they needed. Let them stand before us in such relations that we can really put "our trust in the Son as coming down from God, offering himself before God, going up to God, interceding before God, reigning with God, by him accepted, honored, glorified, and allowed to put all things under his feet"; and can invoke God also to send down the Spirit to be "the power of a real indwelling life, coursing through our nature, breathing health into its diseases, and so rolling back the penal currents of justice to set us free,"—let them stand thus as separate agents, each having its distinct office in the grand economy comprehending all spiritual forces, through which God is reconciling the world unto himself;—and then with each "how lively and full and blessed our converse will be, so pliant to our use as finite men, so gloriously accommodated to our state as sinners."

These two points, first, as *saving the practical infinity of God consistently with his personality*, second, as *the instrument and co-efficient of a supernatural grace or redemptive economy*, include the whole of the argument for the practical need, and consequent practical value, of the Trinity. Thus far no reference has been made to the interior mystery of the Divine nature. The argument amounts to nothing more than that God must needs be *exhibited* in this way, in order to the uses stated; that the three personalities, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, taken

simply as means of divine *representation*, are necessary to the adequate impression of God, and the practical uses of a supernatural and redemptive economy. We have endeavored to show, on the contrary, in the first place, that the terms by which God is represented in the Scriptures are sufficient, *without supposing a Trinity*, to fill out to the utmost our conception of his infinity, and, at the same time, to bring him, particularly by his name FATHER, into the closest and most endearing relations with humanity; and, in the second place, that while, in the economy through which God redeems the world, the names Son and Spirit are of indispensable use and a gracious provision for the soul's wants, yet it is not as members of a Trinity, but as separate agents of Him who is sole Original of all the forces of Nature and of Grace, that their necessity is felt and their use recognized.

We do not propose to follow Dr. Bushnell in what may be called the supplement of his argument. In this he endeavors to find an interior necessity in the nature of God for the Trinity, — a necessity by which he is datelessly and for ever becoming three, and thus accommodated in his action to the categories of finite apprehension. We quote a single paragraph, as exhibiting the tenor of the whole: —

“ If, then, we dare to assume what is the deepest, most adorable fact of God's nature, — that he is a being infinite, *inherently related in act* to the finite, otherwise impossible ever to be found in that relation, thus and therefore a being who is everlastingly threeing himself in his action, to be and to be known as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, from eternity to eternity, — we are brought out full upon the Christian Trinity, and that in the simple line of practical inquiry itself. It is nothing but the doctrine that *God is a being practically related to his creatures*. And for just this reason it was that Christ, in the commission given to his disciples, set forth his formula of Trinity as a comprehensive designation of the Gospel, and a revelation of the everlasting ground it has in the inherent properties of God. He calls it therein as emphatically as possible his ‘everlasting Gospel,’ a work as old as the Trinity of God, a valid and credible work, because it is based in the Trinity of God.”

Our readers, like ourselves, must be quite weary by this time of trying to tread their way through these in-

tricacies of thought and speculation. The simple terms *God* and *Father*, bringing the Infinite into relations of nearness and fellowship with man, and, at the same time, filling the soul with a sense of the immeasurable vastness of its Author, sweep all this laborious reasoning away. The truth as it is in Jesus turns into derision, by its simplicity, all this abstruseness and complexity in which the doctrine of the True God is involved. Nowhere does Christ speak of God as "eternally *threeing* himself." Such words would have sounded strangely from his lips who borrowed the strongest monotheistic language of the Old Testament, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord," to express his own conception of the Divine Unity.

Notwithstanding the idea is so confidently put forth that Jesus taught the Trinity, that he made it, indeed, the sum and essence of his Gospel, yet we as confidently affirm, that neither directly nor by implication does he refer to the Trinity, or give a hint by anything he said that so strange a fantasy had ever entered his thought. If the Trinity is that important practical truth which Dr. Bushnell has so ingeniously and elaborately maintained, why, in the name of mercy, did he who "spake as never man spake," and who came "to show us the Father," pass it over in utter silence? Why is it that neither the word *Trinity*, nor any equivalent for it, is to be found in the records of his sayings and discourses? Why, indeed, did he not repeat it here and there, over and over again, till there could be no room for mistake? Why did he not, at least *once*, in all his ministry, either privately to his disciples or publicly to the multitudes, refer to God in a manner corresponding to that which Dr. Bushnell so freely uses in the pages we have been examining? Will it be answered, He *does* reveal the doctrine clearly. We reply, To our mind he does *not* reveal it; and to thousands of other minds as intelligent, as discriminating, as open to truth, as candid and impartial in judgment, as any that have ever given their attention to the study of Christianity, he does not reveal it. The inference is irresistible, that it is not *clearly* revealed; and the probabilities from this fact rise almost to certainty, that it is not revealed at all. Indeed, this is substantially admitted by learned Trinitarians. Thus

Neander, in a paragraph, part of which is quoted by Dr. Bushnell, says: "This doctrine [Trinity] does not strictly belong to the fundamental articles of the Christian faith; as appears sufficiently evident from the fact that it is expressly held forth in no one particular passage of the New Testament." *

We are prepared to go a step farther. Not only is this doctrine *not* revealed, but it is *excluded* by what is expressly taught throughout the New Testament. Not only is it no part of Christianity, but it has been inserted into the faith of the Church in contradiction to what Christianity explicitly teaches. Jesus never taught that the proper name of God is "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost"; never addressed him or spoke of him by that name; and there is no example of any Apostle referring to God, in discourse or other writing, nor in worship, by any name or form of address implying Trinity. Still more; these all do use names for God, and address him in worship by terms which seem to compel the conviction that they thought of him, felt towards him, adored him, sought him, in the simple unity of his nature. No ingenuity can work itself into the belief that Jesus, when he prayed, saying, "O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me!" either prayed as the equal of that Father in power and glory, or had in his mind, as the object to whom the petition was addressed, a triune divine personality. The idea is wholly incredible. Nor is it more easy to believe that the Apostles, when they spoke of "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," had not in their minds a being, closely related to Jesus indeed, but yet as distinct from him as any human father from his child. The words used not only admit, but *require*, this construction. They could not have been fairly and honestly used with a view to any other construction. When a company of disciples — as is recorded of them — "lifted up their voice to God with one accord, and said, Lord, thou art God, which hast made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is; of a truth, against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate with the Gentiles and the people of Israel were

* Hist. Christian Religion and Church, Vol. I. p. 572.

gathered together, for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done,"—it seems scarcely within the bounds of credibility that this company were not all strict Unitarians in their conceptions of the Divine Being. Almost every word used is in itself alone proof that they did not regard Christ as supreme and underrived. "*Thy child*,"—"whom thou hast *anointed*,"—"thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done" with reference to him;—can the mind receive it, that these disciples *believed* that the "*child*" they spoke of as "*anointed*" of God, and as put to death in conformity to the "*counsel*" of God, was himself, in any sense whatever, or by any stretch of imagination, to be regarded as "*the Lord God which made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is*"? And when it is remembered that Peter and John were of this company, and probably leaders in the holy song, the evidence, while it is of a piece with that furnished by nearly every page of the New Testament, and by no means peculiar in its force, is conclusive that these two Apostles had never received a hint, either from the lips of Jesus or from the Holy Ghost, that Christ was to be believed in as God, and to share the worship of men with the Father to whose glory he had opened their eyes.

Each of the four Gospels gives the writer's whole view of Christ; or rather presents those features of his character and points of his history which had made the strongest impression on the writer's mind. Take, then, the first Gospel, — of Matthew, — and where appears in it the faintest trace of belief in Jesus as God? We are not aware that a single text is quoted from it in favor of the Trinity, except that containing the formula of baptism. The placing of the three New Names of the Christian dispensation in such relation to each other is thought to indicate that equality and unity of the persons which is fitly expressed by the word Trinity. To us it conveys, as we have already said, no such idea. We think that no intelligent Jew or Gentile of the first age of Christianity, having never before heard of the Trinity, after carefully reading the Gospel according to Matthew from beginning to end, would have laid down the book under an impression that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were *together* the one God of Christianity. As to the associa-

tion of these three names in the direction concerning baptism, while it is most natural, since they are names first distinctly revealed by the Gospel, no evidence is afforded by it that the three are one. In Luke, the Saviour is reported as saying, "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me, and of my words, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he shall come in his own glory, and in his Father's, and of the holy angels'." Are the holy angels, the Father, and the Son to be regarded, on account of this juxtaposition of names, as equal in glory and equally entitled to worship? In this Gospel — of Luke — the formula of baptism is not given; and there is no text that lends the least support to the Trinitarian hypothesis. Suppose now it had so happened that some community, among the many that embraced Christianity during the apostolic age, had received this Gospel, and no other, and had sought in all sincerity to build themselves up on its great moral and religious ideas, to follow the Christ there presented, to give practical effect to the precepts touching the heart and the life there recorded, to obtain the gift of the Holy Spirit there promised, to secure the eternal life there proclaimed, and to worship the Father there disclosed to faith. In the first place, does any one imagine that this would have been a *Trinitarian* community? and, in the second place, is it denied that it would have been a *Christian* community?

But there are declarations in each of the Gospels, as we have said, which contradict and exclude the idea of Trinity. Take this, in Luke, as an example: "A certain ruler asked him, saying, Good Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life? And Jesus said unto him, Why callest thou me good? none is good, save one, that is, God." Here is the Teacher of a new religion addressing a man who had never thought of God except as the one Jehovah. By the supposition of Trinitarianism, the fundamental and all-including idea of the new religion is the union of Christ as co-equal with the Father in a Godhead of three persons. An opportunity is here presented of fixing this grand idea in the inquirer's mind. Does Jesus use the opportunity for that purpose? So far from it, that, if his sole object had been to confute and annul such an idea, he could not have framed human language into a sentence more effective for the pur-

pose than this which we have quoted. Could he have imagined as a thing possible, that the ruler, after this answer, would go away believing that he had been conversing with one whose aim was to establish amongst men the worship of himself as God? Must he not have known that, so far from having made a convert to the Trinity by the answer, and thus laid the corner-stone of his religion in that soul, he had by his words, as explicitly as possible, confirmed the inquirer in his "cold and feeble monotheism"? Take another example. In the last solemn and awful moment of the crucifixion, with the whole world prospectively listening to his words, Jesus, when he had cried with a loud voice, said, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit." Now, is it possible that a single mind from the whole world could receive any other impression from this sublime *de profundis* of a suffering but departing spirit, than that it was the utterance of a derived and dependent, though most exalted, being? Is it conceivable that such words could have been spoken by one conscious of being himself the equal of the Father, and therefore needing nothing of him; or by one whose mission had been to found a religion, the fundamental truth of which is — the Trinity? The language used under the circumstances, we say, according to all established modes of thinking, necessarily excludes the idea of Trinity, and leaves one directly the reverse of that which Dr. Bushnell assumes as the substance of Christianity.

Pass into the Gospel of John. We meet in the opening a passage which Trinitarians think conclusive against us, but in which we find our own view distinctly set forth. The Trinity surely is not taught in it. For whatever interpretation may be given to it, no one claims to find in it more than *two* divine persons. Of these two, the language used authorizes us to say that one is the Source, the Original, of the other. For while that spiritual effluence which is called the Word was in the beginning with God, and so of the very essence of God, yet when it "became flesh" it went forth from God and took a distinct conscious life, which was "the brightness of the Father's glory and the express *image* of his person." So that the two names *Word* and *God* represent two distinct beings and two

distinct ideas. The term *Word* does not suggest to any mind the same personality as the name *God*. It is God projected into manifestation, — God revealed in man, — God made known through a human shekinah; not the veritable Jehovah. Destroy the shekinah, — let the great Revealer cease to be (if the supposition were possible), — let the holy and blessed manifestation be withdrawn for ever, — still God would exist *without the Word*; not seen, as now, through Christ, but dwelling in light inaccessible and full of glory. In immediate connection with this passage, it is said by the writer of it: "No man hath seen *God* at any time; the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared Him." Here are two statements, both of which contradict and exclude the idea of Trinity. If in John's view Christ had been in any sense *God*, could he who had so often seen him and leaned on his bosom have said truly, No man hath seen God? And when it is said, "the only-begotten Son hath declared Him," is it not evident that, in the view of the writer, the *Him* declared was a different being from the *Son* declaring? When in the same sentence Jesus is called "only *begotten*," the word italicized is a refutation of the doctrine in question. Nor is its refuting power weakened by the invention (in order to conceal its force) of the phrase "eternal generation," which is but a verbal paradox without meaning. In the sixteenth chapter of this Gospel it is written: "And in that day ye shall ask me nothing. Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you." These words plainly exclude the Trinity. They point to a coming period — it matters not when — during which (they teach disciples) men are to ask nothing of Christ, but everything of God *in Christ's name*. Now we confidently ask, would any man of common understanding, not trained in the intricacies of the Augustinian theology, sincerely desirous of being guided in his whole spiritual life by the Saviour, feel at liberty, after reading these words, to address his petitions indiscriminately to the Father and the Son, "using the plurality with the utmost unconcern," and "allowing it to blend, in the freest manner possible, with all his acts of worship"?

Passages to the same effect might be multiplied in-

definitely from every part of the New Testament. We give but one or two more. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, says: "I would have you know that the head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God." Does not this text manifestly exclude the idea of Trinity? In other words, can this statement and the dogma of Trinity both be true? If it be true that Paul believed in the equality of Christ with God, it is true also that he believed in the equality of man with Christ, and of woman with man; and his words here convey an idea in direct contradiction of his faith. Once more. Against all idol-worship this Apostle, in the same Epistle, asserts that "*there is none other God but one.*" He makes this assertion in such connections of thought as forbid that he should have regarded Christ as one of three persons constituting the "one" God. For he immediately proceeds to tell his readers who that one God is, to distinguish him,—to distinguish him from Christ. He is "the FATHER, of whom are all things, and we in him." And as if to show that Christ was in no wise included, he mentions him separately: "And one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him." We say, then, that the Apostle's conception of God did *not* include in it Jesus Christ; that *his* "mind" was not "thrown into a maze of sublimity, and made to feel at once the vastness, and with that the close society also of God" by the "cross relations of a threefold grammatic personality"; but whatever Francis Junius of Heidelberg, the mild and sober Howe, Jeremy Taylor, the Marquis de Rentz, Edwards, and Lady Maxwell may have done, Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, first in the roll of Christian teachers and saints, when he worshipped, did not worship a complex Divinity, but the One—never threeing himself—for ever and simply the one "God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob," who is also "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ"; and that there was no playing of his thought through the images of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, gliding and alternating from one to the other, according to the mood of the moment or the subject in mind, but always a single, particular, invariable reference to the one being represented in Christianity by the name Father.

To share the mind of Christ on this great subject ; to enter into the thought and feeling of his Apostles, making their inspiration the guide of our faith ; to bow down with them in that deeply-adoring yet all-confiding worship, which, in prayer and song, they lifted up to the High and Holy One, who, though embosomed in mystery awful and infinite, had condescended to let his goodness pass before them "in the face of Jesus Christ," and to express his nearness to them through that name which, more than Creator, Preserver, Redeemer, is the abiding joy of the filial heart, — the name of FATHER ; — if there is any aim of the Christian soul higher than this, if there is any mount of vision from which vaster wonders in the immeasurable realm of divine grace can be discovered, it has not yet been revealed to us, and we must wait the disclosure.

In thus maintaining the absolute supremacy of the Father, Unitarians are liable to a misapprehension which we especially wish to avoid. Trinitarians may be led to suppose that we do not "honor the Son" as really and heartily as we do the Father ; that we are unwilling to receive him in his highest character and offices ; that we do not render to him that perfect allegiance which sinners who regard him as their all-sufficient Saviour delight to yield. To guard against this misapprehension, we have simply to affirm, that we stand, as we think, on the creed of the New Testament. We use the language of the Apostles in the sense in which they used it. There are no terms employed by them to exalt the Saviour that we do not need for expressing our profound sense of the wonderfulness of his nature, the grandeur of his character, and the importance and dignity of his mission. Overwhelmed by the weight of obligation laid upon us by him, no words of man's device, but such only as the Holy Ghost teacheth, can adequately clothe the sentiments of our hearts towards him ; and there is no phraseology adopted by prophet, evangelist, or apostle, to assert the magnitude of his office, the majesty of his person, or the momentous consequences involved in the alternative of receiving or rejecting him, that our souls do not spontaneously fill out to the full from their own sure and deep convictions. Does some prophet, seeing in him God manifested, call him "Immanuel" ? Verily, in him God

is with us. Beholding in vision the miraculous establishment, the strength and wisdom, the peacefulness and perpetuity, of the Messiah's reign, does he name him "Wonderful, Counsellor, mighty God, everlasting Father, Prince of peace"? Amen. The prophet cannot go beyond the historian; nay, the historian and the prophet meet in the mount of holy contemplation, using the same lofty imagery to invest with superhuman attributes the peerless object of their common admiration and praise. Glorifying in the regal majesty and dominion of his Lord, does some raptured saint, with his ear near to God, hear a "voice from the excellent glory" addressing the Son: "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom; thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows"? Even so, amen. *Laudate Dominum.* We rejoice; we exult; we give thanks; we chant our response with the Church, and say, "God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God," not *homoiouision* with the Arians, but *homoousion* with the Athanasians; and none shall receive a heavier meaning from those divinely loaded words than we. Does some apostolic seer, caught up into the heavens, hear a loud voice proceeding from "ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands" of angels, saying, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing"? We would take up and repeat the celestial refrain, "Blessing and honor and glory and power be unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever."

But we can have no Trinity. Enoch who walked with God, Abraham and the patriarchs, Moses and the prophets, — in whose matchless dress our loftiest conceptions of the Divine Being are clothed, — had no Trinity. The Saviour had no Trinity. The Apostles of our Lord had no Trinity. The Church for three hundred years had no Trinity. The three hundred bishops of the Council of Nice met, deliberated, and parted, but established no Trinity. Trinity belongs to the Romish communion, with the worship of the Virgin and the adoration of Saints. Protestantism should disown it. It is a barbar-

ism of language covering a falsity in belief. Whenever a Protestant Christian finds that he is unable to express his faith in the words of Holy Writ, but is obliged to resort to a heathen dialect to help him out, the legitimate inference is that he is in error, and his first duty is to adjust his faith to the Scripture standard.

Let the name of Christ be held in sacred remembrance ; let it be associated with all that is grandest in faith, and holiest in worship ; let the same breath that articulates the soul's trust in the Almighty Father, and supplication for the Holy Spirit, syllable the love of the Only-begotten Son ; — but let it be also reverently confessed that behind all, above all, and filling all, is Highest God “ without variableness or shadow of turning,” who said of the Son, “ *This day* have I begotten thee,” and who, if Christ and all the hosts of heaven were annihilated, would still live in the unapproached and unfathomable perfection of his nature.

It is one of the highest offices of science to extend, to human apprehension, the boundaries — to enlarge the dimensions — of the outward creation, and thus to magnify our conceptions of the for ever inconceivable grandeur and glory of its Author. In this work it has been given to no mortal to proceed farther, to ascend higher, than Sir Isaac Newton. Yet Sir Isaac Newton, from his sublime and awful investigations, before which the veil of the heavens was rent in twain from top to bottom, brought back report of no Trinity. It is one of the noblest offices of the imagination to idealize the facts of science, to stand upon its loftiest summits, and, looking upward and around, to form a creation of its own, corresponding to that which is known, but with all its splendors infinitely intensified, all its beauties and sublimities immeasurably heightened, and the God whom it devoutly contemplates engirded with glories which no man can look upon and live, — majestic, resplendent, unutterable. Into this hidden region of wonders, this abyss of mystery divine, who among men has penetrated farther than the author of *Paradise Lost* ? Yet, from all the immense realm he explores, from its myriads of altars built upon the stars, from the recesses of its temples served by angelic priesthoods, from all its shining tiers of cherubim and seraphim, from the seat of its Almighty Lord, Milton brings report of no Trinity ; but falls down with us to

worship the One Supreme, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

One word more. It is evident that there is a disposition on the part of many Protestant Trinitarians to relax the rigor with which the dogma of Trinity has been insisted on, and to seek a basis of union with Protestants who do not receive that dogma, but who are equally with them opposed to all ecclesiasticism and mere sacerdotal authority, in a faith less complex and abstruse, and more in accordance with the language of Scripture. Such are beginning to see that, after all, a true faith in Christ — a *saving* faith — is not inconsistent with a literal interpretation of his words, "My Father is greater than I"; and that practically the subtone of religion is as heavy, its working as beneficent, its promise as inspiring, when he is believed in as the highest manifestation of God, as when he is worshipped as the equal of God.

"How many," Dr. Bushnell says, "of the formally-professed believers of the doctrine are free to acknowledge that they see no practical value in it, and will even blame the preacher who maintains it for spending his time and breath in a matter so far out of the way of the practical life, a merely curious article or riddle of the faith! And how many others, even of the more serious class of believers, would say, if they were to speak out what is in their feeling, that they take the Trinity as a considerable drawback on the idea of God! They would recoil indeed from the thought, as being even a blamable irreverence, of imagining any improvement of God; but if they could think of him as a simple unit of personality, in the manner of the Unitarians, he would consciously be just so much more to their mind, and their practical relations towards him would be proportionally cleared and comforted."

Towards all such, — and they are the more serious, active, and earnest spirits of the various sects to which they belong, — our hearts confess to a strong yearning. With them, we would reverently bow the knee, acknowledging Jesus as "Lord, to the glory of God the Father." With them, we would unite our strength in a holy warfare against all the powers of darkness in the name of that Word which is the light of men; and with them, at each new victory, whether on Christian or Pagan soil, we would echo the shout of the armies of heaven, "Alleluia! for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth."

J. W. T.

ART. II. — THE RABBINICAL DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE LIFE.

THE starting-point in the Talmud on this subject is with the effects of sin upon the human race. Man was made radiant, pure, immortal, in the image of God. By sin he was obscured, defiled, burdened with mortal decay and judgment. In this representation that misery and death were an after-doom brought into the world by sin, the Rabbinical authorities strikingly agree. The testimony is irresistible. We need not quote confirmations of this statement, as every scholar will accept it at once. But as to what is meant precisely by the term "death," as used in such a connection, there is no little obscurity and diversity of opinion. In all probability some of the Pharisaical fathers, perhaps the majority of them, conceived that, if Adam had not sinned, he and his posterity would have been physically immortal, and would either have lived for ever on the earth, or have been successively transferred to the home of Jehovah over the firmament. They call the Devil, who is the chief accuser in the heavenly court of justice, and the angel of death, by the name of "Sammael." Rabbi Reuben says: "When Sammael saw Adam sin, he immediately sought to slay him, and went to the heavenly council and clamored for justice against him, pleading thus: 'God made this decree, "In the day thou eatest of the tree thou shalt surely die." Therefore give him to me, for he is mine, and I will kill him; to this end was I created; and give me power over all his descendants.' When the celestial Sanhedrim perceived that his petition was just, they decreed that it should be granted." * A great many expressions of kindred tenor might easily be adduced, leaving it hardly possible to doubt, — as indeed we are not aware that any one does doubt, — that many of the Jews literally held that sin was the sole cause of bodily dissolution. But, on the other hand, there were as certainly others who did not entertain that idea, but who understood and explained the terms in which it was sometimes conveyed in a different, a partially figurative sense. Rabbi

* Schoettgenii *Dissertatio de Hierosolyma Cœlesti*, Cap. III. sect. 9.

Samuel Ben David writes: "Although the first Adam had not sinned, yet death would have been, for death was created on the first day." The reference here is, as Rabbi Berechias explains, to the account in Genesis where we read that "darkness was upon the face of the deep," "by which is to be understood the angel of death, who has darkened the face of man." * There were, too, very prevalent among the Talmudists, the conceptions of the pre-existence of souls in heaven, and of a spiritual body investing and fitting the soul for heaven, as the present carnal body invests and fits it for the earth. Schoettgen has collected numerous illustrations in point, of which the following may serve as specimens.† "When the first Adam had not sinned, he was every way an angel of the Lord, perfect and spotless, and it was decreed that he should live for ever like one of the celestial ministers." "The soul cannot ascend into Paradise except it be first invested with a clothing adapted to that world, as the present is for this world." These notions do not harmonize with the thought that man was originally destined for a physical eternity on this globe. All this difficulty disappears, we think, and the true metaphorical force often intended in the word "death" comes to view, through the following conception, occupying the minds of a portion of the Jewish Rabbins, as we are led to believe by the clews furnished in the close connection between the Pharisaic and the Zoroastrian eschatology, by similar hints in various parts of the New Testament, and by some quite explicit declarations in the Talmud itself, which we shall soon cite in a different connection. God at first intended that man should live in pure blessedness on the earth for a time, and then without pain should undergo a glorious change, making him a perfect peer of the angels, and be translated to their lofty abode in his own presence; but when he sinned, God gave him over to manifold suffering, and on the destruction of his body adjudged his naked soul to descend to a doleful imprisonment below the grave. The immortality meant for man was a timely ascent to heaven in a paradisaal clothing, without dying. The doom brought on

* Schoettgenii *Horæ Bibliæ et Talmudicæ*, in Rom. v. 12, et in Johan. iii. 19.

† *Ibid.*, in 2 Cor. v. 2.

him by sin was the alteration of that desirable change of bodies and ascension to the supernal splendors, for a permanent disembodiment and dreaded descent to the subterranean glooms. It is a Talmudical as much as it is a Pauline idea, that the triumphant power of the Messiah would restore what the unfortunate fall of Adam lost. Now if we can show, as we think we can, and as we shall try to in a later part of this article, that the later Jews expected the Messianic resurrection to be the prelude to an ascent into heaven, and not the beginning of a gross earthly immortality, it will powerfully confirm the theory which we have just indicated. "When," says one of the old Rabbins, "the dead in Israelitish earth are restored alive," their bodies will be "as the body of the first Adam before he sinned, and they shall all fly into the air like birds."*

At all events, whether the general Rabbinical belief was in the primitive destination of man to a heavenly or to an earthly immortality,—whether the "death" decreed upon him in consequence of sin was the dissolution of the body or the wretchedness of the soul,—they do all agree that the banishment of souls into the realm of blackness under the grave was a part of the penalty of sin. Some of them maintained, as we think, that, had there been no sin, souls would have passed to heaven in glorified bodies; others of them maintained, as we think, that, had there been no sin, they would have lived eternally upon earth in their present bodies; but all of them agreed, as is undisputed, that in consequence of sin souls were condemned to the under-world. No man would have seen the dismal realm of the sepulchre, had there not been sin. The earliest Hebrew conception was that all souls alike went down to a common abode, to spend eternity in dark slumber or nerveless groping. This view was first modified soon after the Persian captivity, by the expectation that there would be discrimination at the resurrection which the Jews had learned to look for, when the just should rise, but the wicked should be left. The next alteration of their notions on this subject was the subdivision of the under-world into Paradise and Gehenna; a conception known among them probably as

* Schoettgen, in 1 Cor. xv. 44.

early as a century before Christ, and very prominent with them in the apostolic age. "When Rabbi Jochanan was dying, his disciples asked him, 'Light of Israel, main pillar of the right, thou strong hammer, why dost thou weep?' He answered, 'Two paths open before me; the one leading to bliss, the other to torments; and I know not which of them will be my doom.'"^{*} "Paradise is separated from hell by a distance no greater than the width of a thread."[†] So in Christ's parable of Dives and Lazarus, Abraham's bosom and hell are two divisions. "There are three doors into Gehenna; one in the wilderness, where Korah and his company were swallowed; one in the sea, where Jonah descended when he 'cried out of the belly of hell'; one in Jerusalem, for the Lord says, 'My furnace is in Jerusalem.'"[‡] "The under-world is divided into palaces, each of which is so large that it would take a man three hundred years to roam over it. There are distinct apartments where the hell-punishments are inflicted. One place is so dark that its name is 'Night-of-Horrors.'"[§] "In Paradise there are certain mansions for the pious from the Gentile peoples, and for those mundane kings who have done kindness to the Israelites."^{||} "The fire of Gehenna was kindled on the evening of the first Sabbath, and shall never be extinguished."[¶] The Egyptians, Persians, Hindoos, and Greeks, with all of whom the Jews held relations of intercourse, had, in their popular representations of the under-world of the dead, regions of peace and honor for the good, and regions of fire for the bad. The idea may have been adopted from them by the Jews, or it may have been at last developed among themselves, first by the imaginative poetical, and afterwards by the literally believing, transference below of historical and local imagery and associations, such as those connected with the engulfing of Sodom and Gomorrah in fire and sulphur, and with the loathed fires in the valley of Hinnom.

^{*} Talmud tr. Berachoth.

[†] Eisenmenger's Entdecktes Yudenthum, Theil II. Kap. V. Seite 315.

[‡] Lightfoot, in Matt. v. 22.

[§] Schröder's Satzungen und Gebräuche des talmudisch-rabbinischen Yudenthums, (Bremen, 1851,) p. 408.

^{||} Schoettgen, in Johan. xiv. 2.

[¶] Nov. Test. ex Talmude, etc. illustratum a J. G. Meuschen, p. 125.

Many of the Rabbins believed in the transmigration or revolution of souls, an immemorial doctrine of the East, and carried it out in the most ludicrous and marvellous details.* But with the exception of those who adopted this Indian doctrine, the Rabbins supposed all departed souls to be in the under-world, some in the division of Paradise, others in that of Hell. Here they fancied these souls to be longingly awaiting the advent of the Messiah. "Messiah and the patriarchs weep together in Paradise over the delay of the time of the kingdom." † In this quotation the Messiah is represented as being in the under-world, for the Jews expected that he would be a man, very likely some one who had already lived. Thus a delegation was once sent to ask Jesus, "Art thou Elias? art thou the Messiah? art thou that prophet?" Light is thus thrown upon the Rabbinical saying, that "it was doubted whether the Messiah would come from the living, or the dead." ‡ Borrowing some Persian modes of thinking, and adding them to their own inordinate national pride, the Rabbins soon began to fancy that the observance or non-observance of the Pharisaic ritual, and kindred particulars, must exert a great effect in determining the destination of souls, and their condition in the under-world. Observe the following quotations from the Talmud. "Abraham sits at the gate of hell to see that no Israelite enters." "Circumcision is so agreeable to God, that he swore to Abraham that no one who was circumcised should descend into hell." § "What does Abraham to those circumcised who have sinned too much? He takes the foreskins from Gentile boys who died without circumcision, and places them on those Jews who were circumcised but have become godless, and so kicks them into hell." || Hell here denotes that division in the under-world where the condemned are punished. The younger Buxtorf, in a preface to his father's "*Synagoga Judaica*," gives numerous specimens of Jewish representations of "the efficacy of circumcision being so great, that no one who has undergone it shall go

* Basnage's *Hist. of Jews*, Lib. IV. cap. 30. Also, *Traditions of the Rabbins*, in *Blackwood* for April, 1833.

† Eisenmenger, *Theil II. Seite 304*.

‡ Lightfoot, in *Matt. ii. 16*.

§ Schröder, *Seite 332*.

|| Eisenmenger, *Theil II. Kap. VI. Seite 340*.

down into hell." Children can help their deceased parents out of hell by their good deeds, prayers, and offerings.* "Beyond all doubt," says Gfrörer, "the ancient Jewish synagogue inculcated the doctrine of supererogatory good works, the merit of which went to benefit departed souls."† Here all souls were, in the under-world; either in that part of it called Paradise, or in that named Gehenna, according to certain conditions. But in whichever place they were, and under whatever circumstances, they were all tarrying in expectation of the advent of the Messiah.

How deeply rooted, how eagerly cherished, the Jewish belief in the approaching appearance of the Messiah was, and what a splendid group of ideas and imaginations they clustered around his reign, are well-known facts. He was to be a descendant of royal David, an inspired prophet, priest, and king, was to subdue the whole earth beneath his Jewish sceptre, and establish from Jerusalem a theocratic empire of unexampled glory and holiness and delight. In so much the consent was general and earnest, though in regard to many further details there would seem to have been incongruous diversity of opinions. They supposed the coming of the Messiah would be preceded by ten frightful woes;‡ also by the appearance of the prophet Elias as a forerunner.§ There are a few passages in the Rabbinical writings, which, unless they were forged and interpolated by Christians at a late period, show that there were in the Jewish mind anticipations of the personal descent of the Messiah into the under-world.|| "After this the Messiah, the son of David, came to the gates of the under-world. But when the bound, who are in Gehenna, saw the light of the Messiah, they began rejoicing to receive him, saying, 'He shall lead us up from this darkness.'" "The captives shall ascend from the under-world, Schechinah at their

* Eisenmenger, Theil II. Seite 357.

† Geschichte des Urchristenthums, Zweite Abtheilung, Seite 186. So also Maimonides asserts the doctrine of supererogatory works: see p. 237 of H. H. Bernard's Selections from the Yod Hachazakah of Maimonides.

‡ Surenhusii Mischna, Pars Tertia, p. 308.

§ Lightfoot, in Matt. xvii. 10.

|| For a general view of the Jewish eschatology, see Gfrörer's Geschichte des Urchristenthums, Kap. X.; Eisenmenger's Entdecktes Judenthum, Theil II. Kap. XV. - XVII.

head." * Gfrörer derives the origin of the doctrine that Christ rescued souls out of the under-world, from a Jewish notion, preserved in the Talmud, † that the just patriarchs sometimes did it. ‡ Bertholdt adduces Talmudical declarations to show that through the Messiah "God would hereafter liberate the Israelites from the under-world, on account of the merit of circumcision." § Schoettgen quotes this statement from the Sohar: "Messiah shall die, and shall remain in the state of death a time, and shall rise." || The so-called Fourth Book of Ezra says, in the seventh chapter: "My son, the Christ, shall die: then follow the resurrection and the judgment." Although it is clear, from various other sources, as well as from the account in John xii. 34, that there was a prevalent expectation among the Jews that "the Messiah would abide for ever," yet it also seems quite certain that there were at the same time at least obscure presentiments, based on prophecies and traditions, that he must die,—that an important part of his mission was connected with his death. This appears from such passages as we have cited above, found in early Rabbinical writers, who would certainly be very unlikely to borrow and adapt a new idea of such a character from the Christians; and from the manner in which Jesus assumes his death to be a part of the Messianic fate, and interprets the Scriptures as necessarily pointing to that effect. He charges his disciples with being "fools and blind" in not so understanding the doctrine; thus seeming to imply that it was plainly known to some. But this question, the origin of the idea of a suffering, atoning, dying Messiah, is confessedly a very nice and obscure one. The evidence, the silence, the inferences, the presumptions and doubts on the subject, are such, that some of the most thorough and impartial students say they are unable to decide either way.

However the foregoing question be decided, it is confessed by all, that the Jews earnestly looked for a resur-

* Schoettgen, *De Messia*, Lib. VI. cap. 5, sect. 1.

† Eisenmenger, *Theil II.* Seite 343, 364.

‡ *Geschichte Urchrist.*, Kap. VIII. Seite 184.

§ *Christologia Judæorum Jesu Apostolarumque Ætate*, sect. 34 (*De Descensu Messie ad Inferos*).

|| *De Messia*, Lib. VI. cap. 5, sect. 2.

rection of the dead as an accompaniment of the Messiah's coming. Whether Christ was to go down into the under-world, or to sit enthroned on Mount Zion, in either case, the dead should come up and live again on earth at the blast of his summoning trumpet. Rabbi Jeremiah commanded, "When you bury me, put shoes on my feet, and give me a staff in my hand, and lay me on one side, that when the Messiah comes I may be ready." * Most of the Rabbins made this resurrection partial. "Whoever denies the resurrection of the dead shall have no part in it, for the very reason that he denies it." † Rabbi Abbu says: "A day of rain is greater than the resurrection of the dead; because the rain is for all, while the resurrection is only for the just." ‡ "Sodom and Gomorrah shall not rise in the resurrection of the dead." § Rabbi Chebbo says: "The patriarchs so vehemently desired to be buried in the land of Israel, because those who are dead in that land shall be the first to revive and shall devour his years. But for those just who are interred beyond the holy land, it is to be understood that God will make a passage in the earth, through which they will be rolled until they reach the land of Israel." || Rabbi Jochanan says: "Moses died out of the holy land, in order to show that in the same way that God will raise up Moses, so he will raise all those who observe his law." The national bigotry of the Jews reaches a pitch of extravagance in some of their views that is amusing. For instance, they declare that "one Israelitish soul is dearer and more important to God, than all the souls of a whole nation of the Gentiles"! Again, they say: "When God judges the Israelites, he will stand, and make the judgment brief and mild: when he judges the Gentiles he will sit, and make it long and severe"! They affirm that the resurrection will be effected by means of a dew; and they quote, to that effect, this verse from Canticles: "I sleep, but my heart waketh; my head is filled with dew, and my locks with drops of the night." Some assert that "the resurrection will be im-

* Lightfoot, in Matt. xxvii. 52.

† Witsii Dissertatio de Seculo, etc., sect. 9.

‡ Nov. Test. illustratum, etc. a Meuschen, p. 62.

§ Schoettgen, in Johan. vi. 39.

|| Schoettgen, De Messia, Lib. VI. cap. 6, sect. 27.

mediately caused by God, who never gives to any one the three keys of birth, rain, and the resurrection of the dead." Others say that the power to raise and judge the dead will be delegated to the Messiah, and even go so far as to assert that the trumpet whose formidable blasts will then shake the universe is to be one of the horns of that ram which Abraham offered up instead of his son Isaac! Some confine the resurrection to faithful Jews, some extend it to the whole Jewish nation, some think all the righteous of the earth will have part in it, and some stretch its pale around all mankind alike.* They seem to agree that the reprobate would either be left in the wretched regions of Sheol when the just arose, or else be thrust back after the judgment, to remain there for ever. It was believed that the righteous after their resurrection would never die again; but ascend to heaven. The Jews came after a time, when the increase of geographical knowledge had annihilated from the earth their old Eden whence the sinful Adam was expelled, to change its location into the sky. Thither, as the later fables ran, Elijah was borne in his chariot of fire by the horses thereof. Rabbi Pinchas says: "Carefulness leads us to innocence, innocence to purity, purity to sanctity, sanctity to humility, humility to fear of sins, fear of sins to piety, piety to the holy spirit, the holy spirit to the resurrection of the dead, the resurrection of the dead to the prophet Elias."† The writings of the early Christian Fathers contain many allusions to this blessed habitation of saints above the clouds. It is illustrated in the following quaint Rabbinical narrative. Rabbi Jehosha Ben Levi once besought the angel of death to take him up, ere he died, to catch a glimpse of Paradise. Standing on the wall, he suddenly snatched the angel's sword and sprang over, swearing by Almighty God that he would not come out. Death was not allowed to enter Paradise, and the son of Levi did not restore his sword until he had promised to be more gentle towards the dying.‡ The righteous were never to return to the dust, but "at

* See an able dissertation on Jewish Notions of the Resurrection of the Dead, prefixed to Humphrey's translation of Athenagoras on the Resurrection.

† Surenhusii Mischna, Pars Tertia, p. 309.

‡ Schröder, p. 419.

the end of the thousand years," — the duration of the Messiah's earthly reign, — "when the Lord is lifted up, God shall fit wings to the just, like the wings of eagles."* In a word, the Messiah and his redeemed ones would ascend into heaven to the right hand of God. So Paul, who said, "I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee," declares that, when the dead have risen, "we shall be caught up in the clouds to be for ever with the Lord."

We forbear to notice a thousand curious details of speculation and fancy in which individual Rabbins indulged; for instance, their common notion concerning the bone *Luz*, the single bone which, withstanding dissolution, shall form the nucleus of the resurrection body. It was a very prevalent belief with them, that the resurrection would take place in the valley of Jehosaphat, in proof of which they quote this text from Joel: "Let the heathen be wakened and come up to the valley of Jehosaphat; for there will I sit to judge the nations around." Still, wherever scattered abroad, the faithful Jews cling to the expectation of the Messiah's coming, and associate with his day the resurrection of the dead.† The statement in the Song of Solomon, "The king is held in the galleries," means, says a Rabbinical book, "that the Messiah is detained in Paradise, fettered by a woman's hair"! Every day, throughout the world, every consistent Israelite repeats the words of Moses Maimonides, the peerless Rabbi, of whom it is a proverb, that "from Moses to Moses there arose not a Moses": — "I believe with a perfect faith that the Messiah will come, and though he delays, nevertheless I will always expect him till he come." Then shall glory cover the living, and the risen, children of Israel, and confusion fall on their Gentile foes. In almost every inch of the beautiful valley of Jehosaphat a Jew has been buried. All over the slopes of the hill-sides around lie the thick-clustering sepulchral slabs, showing how eagerly the chosen people seek to sleep in the very spot where the first rising of the dead shall be. Entranced and mute

" In old Jehosaphat's vale, they
Of Israel think the assembled world
Will stand upon that awful day,

* Schoettgen, *De Messia*, Lib. VI. cap. 6, sect. 23; cap. 7, sect. 3, 4.

† John Allen's *Modern Judaism*, Chap. VI. and XV.

When the Ark's light, aloft unfurled,
Among the opening clouds shall shine,
Divinity's own radiant shrine."

Any one familiar with the Persian theology * will at once notice a striking resemblance between many of its dogmas and those, first, of Pharisaism, secondly, of the popular Christianity. Some examination of this subject properly belongs here. There is, then, as is well known, a circle or group of ideas, particularly pertaining to eschatology, which appear in the later Jewish writings, and remarkably correspond to those held by the Parsees, the followers of Zoroaster. The same notions also reappear in the early Christianity as popularly understood. We will specify some of these correspondences. The doctrine of angels, received by the Jews,—their names, offices, rank, and destiny,—was borrowed and formed by them during and just after the Babylonish captivity, and is very like that they found among their enslavers.† The guardian angels appointed over nations, spoken of by Daniel, are Persian. The angels called in the Apocalypse "the seven spirits of God," in Nehemiah "the seven eyes of God," are the seven Amschaspands of the Persian faith. The rebellion and fall of a party of faithless angels are described as minutely by the old Persians as by Milton. The Zend Avesta pictures Ahriman as becoming pregnant and bringing forth Death (*die alte höllenschlange, todschwangere Ahriman*), with as much force as Milton describes the womb of Sin as bearing that fatal monster. The Gahs, or second order of angels, the Persians supposed, were employed in preparing clothing, and laying it up in heaven, to clothe the righteous after the resurrection,—a fancy frequent among the Rabbins, and repeatedly alluded to in the New Testament. With both the Persians and the Jews, all our race, both sexes, sprang from one original man. With both, the first pair were seduced and ruined by means of fruit which the Devil gave to them. With both, there was a belief in demoniacal possessions, devils or bad spirits entering human bodies. With both, there was the

* See Abriss der Religion Zoroasters nach den Zendbüchern, von Abbe Foucher, in Kleuker's Zend Avesta, Band I., Zweit Anhang, Seit. 328–342.

† Schröder, p. 385.

expectation of a great Deliverer, — the Persian Sosiosch, the Jewish Messiah, — whose coming would be preceded by fearful woes, who would triumph over all evil, raise the dead, judge the world, separate the righteous and the wicked, purge the earth with fire, and install a reign of glorious blessedness.* “The conception of an underworld,” says Dr. Röth, “was known centuries before Zoroaster; but probably he was the first to add to the old belief the idea that the underworld was a place of purification, wherein souls were purged from all traces of sin.”† Of this belief in a subterranean purgatory there are numerous unmistakable evidences and examples in the Rabbinical writings.‡

These notions and others the Pharisees early adopted, and wrought into the texture of what they called the “Oral Law,” that body of verbally transmitted legends, precepts, and dogmas, afterwards written out and collected in the *Mischna*, to which Christ repeatedly alluded with such severity, saying, “Ye by your traditions make the commandments of God of none effect.” To some doctrines of kindred character and origin with these Paul refers, when he warns his readers against “the worshipping of angels,” “endless genealogies,” “philosophy falsely so called,” and various besetting heresies of the time. But others were so woven and assimilated into the substance of the popular Judaism of the age, as inculcated by the Rabbins, that Paul himself held them, the lingering vestiges of his earnest Pharisaic education and organized experience. They naturally found their way into the Apostolic Church, principally composed of Ebionites, Christians who had been Jews; and from it they were never separated, but have come to us in seeming orthodox garb, and are generally retained now. Still they were errors. They are incredible to the thinking minds of to-day. It is best to get rid of them by the truth, that they are pagan growths introduced into

* Die Heiligen Schriften der Parsen, von Dr. F. Spiegel, Kap. II. Seit. 32–37. Studien und Kritiken, 1835, Band I., “Ist die Lehre von der Auferstehung des Leibes nicht ein alt-Persische Lehre?” F. Nork's Mythen der alten Perser als Quellen christlicher Glaubenslehren und Ritualien.

† Die Zoroastrischen Glaubenslehre, von Dr. Edward Röth, Seite 450.

‡ See, in Toin. I. Pars I. *Kabbala Denudata*, Synopsis Dogmatum Libri Sohar, pp. 108, 109, 113.

Christianity, but to be discriminated from it. By removing these antiquated and incredible excrescences from the real religion of Christ, we shall save the essential faith, the eternal truth, from the suspicion which their association with it, their fancied identity with it, invites and provokes.

The correspondences between the Persian and the Pharisaic faith are in regard to doctrines of too arbitrary and peculiar a character to allow us for a moment to suppose them to have been an independent product spontaneously developed in the two nations ; though even in that case the doctrines in question have no sanction of authority, not being Mosaic nor Prophetic, but only Rabbinical. One must have received from the other. Which was the bestower and which the recipient is quite plain.* There is not a whit of evidence to show, but, on the contrary, ample presumption to disprove, that a certain cycle of notions were known among the Jews previous to a period of most intimate and constant intercourse between them and the Persians. But before that period those notions were an integral part of the Persian theology, as is confessed by all scholars. Even Prideaux admits that the first Zoroaster lived, and Magianism was flourishing, at least a thousand years before Christ. And the dogmas we refer to are fundamental features of the religion, without which it could not be. These dogmas of the Persians, not derived from the Old Testament nor known among the Jews before the captivity, soon after that time begin to show themselves in their literature, and before the opening of the New Testament are prominent elements of the Pharisaic belief. The inference is unavoidable, that the confluence of Persian thought and feeling with Hebrew thought and feeling, joined with the materials and flowing in the channels of the subsequent experience of the Jews, formed a mingled deposit about the age of Christ, which deposit was Pharisaism. Again, the doctrines common to Zoroastrianism and Pharisaism, in the former seem to be prime sources, in the latter to be late products. In the former, they compose an organic, complete, inseparable system ; in the latter, they are disconnected, mixed piecemeal, and to a considerable

* Lücke's *Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes*, Cap. 2, § 8.

extent historically traceable to an origin beyond the native, national mind. It is a significant fact, that the abnormal symbolic beasts described by several of the Jewish prophets, and in the Apocalypse, were borrowed from Persian art. Sculptures representing these have been brought to light by the recent researches at Persepolis. Finally, all early ecclesiastical history incontestably shows that Persian dogmas exerted on the Christianity of the first centuries an enormous influence, a pervasive and perverting power unspent yet, and which it is one of the highest tasks of honest and laborious Christian students in the present day to explain, define, and separate. What was that Manichæism which nearly filled Christendom for a hundred years, — what was it, but an influx of tradition, speculation, imagination, and sentiment from Persia? The Gnostic Christians even had a scripture called “Zoroaster’s Apocalypse.”* The “wise men from the east,” who knelt before the infant Christ, “and opened their treasures, and gave him gifts, gold, frankincense, and myrrh,” were Persian Magi. We may imaginatively regard that sacred scene as an emblematical figure of the far other tributes which a little later came from their country to his religion, the unfortunate contributions that permeated and corrupted so much of the form in which it thenceforth appeared and spread. In the pure Gospel’s pristine day, ere it had hardened into theological dogmas, or become encumbered with speculations and comments, from the lips of God’s Anointed Son repeatedly fell the earnest warning, “Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees.” There is far more need to have this warning intelligently heeded now, coming with redoubled emphasis from the Master’s own mouth, “Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees.” For as the Gospel is generally set forth and received, that leaven has leavened well-nigh the whole lump of it.

W. R. A.

* Kleuker’s *Zend Avesta*, Band II. Anhang I. Seite 12.

ART. III.—UNITARIANISM AND ORTHODOXY ON THE
NATURE AND THE STATE OF MAN.

WE closed a summary review in our last number of a Half-Century of the Unitarian Controversy in Massachusetts, with the statement of three great doctrinal issues around which a protracted and a thorough discussion between the two parties of the old Congregational Church had proved that all their differences now centre. Of course we are not unmindful of the possible suggestion that, as these three doctrinal issues concern the very fundamentals of Christian truth, and decide the opinions held by the respective parties on all other subordinate Christian doctrines, it can hardly be said that the controversy is perceptibly made more simple by being condensed into these terms. It is convenient, however, to avail ourselves of this condensation of terms, even if the simplification of them is only in the seeming. But we feel persuaded that there is a real as well as an apparent step taken towards a better conduct of the controversy when it is thus centred on its main issues. No one can read over the voluminous records of the strife without a conviction that, had the pains and the skill of both parties been spent upon a close and careful discussion of the preliminaries of the controversy, the incidental questions which it opened might have been made to aid in clearing much of its perplexity, instead of serving, as they did, to distract and confound, to irritate and to mislead, many readers on both sides. And after all it is found that the two parties still have bonds of union. They accord in their theories of church institution and organization, against Romanists, Prelatists, and Presbyterians. They cherish many sacred sympathies, memories, and historical associations, precious and venerable to both alike. Alike they cling to the revelation of God by Jesus Christ, to the Scriptures as a rule of faith, and to many common Christian convictions and experiences. They agree, too, upon a great many points of Christian doctrine which the Unitarians regard as, in fact, the fundamentals of Christian doctrine. As, however, these points, which to us are fundamental, though they are also admitted as such by the Orthodox, are by them connected with dis-

puted doctrines, and are sometimes made subsidiary in vital importance to other doctrines, our real accordance in fundamentals with that party passes for but little. But as regards the three doctrines which we have already defined, the two parties are at variance; distinctly and positively opposed to each other. The controversy which commenced in the supposition of a great many other differences, as well as in the recognition of these three, has sunk or harmonized the others, while it has emphasized these. According to the side which any one may espouse on each or all of the three Christian doctrines relating to the Nature and the State of Man, the relation between Christ and God, and the Atonement, will he define his own position as to this controversy.

We now propose to gather up the results of a long discussion, as they bear upon the first of these doctrines.

The first point on which Unitarian sentiment is found to be in positive and entire antagonism with *the standards of Orthodoxy*, is that which concerns the Nature and the State of Men as responsible creatures of God. Let us start with a frank understanding of our ground. Unitarians do not affirm that human beings are born *holy*; nor that the original elements of human nature are free from germs which grow and develop, if unrestrained, into sin; nor that no disadvantage has accrued to all the race of Adam from his disobedience, and from all the accumulations of wickedness that have gathered for ages in the world into which we are introduced. Unitarians do not deny that all men are actually sinners, needing the renewing grace and the forgiveness of God, dependent upon the Gospel of Christ as a remedial and redeeming religion, and having no other hope than that which Christ offers. Unitarians do not deny the great mystery which invests sin and evil, nor profess to have any marked advantage over Orthodoxy in looking back of that mystery or in dealing with it. But Unitarians do deny positively, and with all the earnestness of a sincere and solemn conviction, that the original Calvinistic doctrine (or any subsequent modification of that doctrine which has the authority of an accredited formula with the party) concerning the Nature and the State of Man, is either a Scriptural or a Christian doctrine.

Let it be remembered that we are dealing with a con-

trovery whose present aspect refers us back to its early form and shape if we would judge intelligently of its character. It is essential, therefore, that we define very clearly one of the paramount conditions of the controversy when it opened, in order that we may appreciate its original elements. We have already said that the Unitarians understood and avowed that they were assailing, — not the undefined and modified semblance now called *Orthodoxy*, — but *Calvinism* which had expressed itself in *positive formulas*, and to which the Orthodox party nominally professed an unqualified allegiance. Since the controversy opened, Orthodoxy, being restless under each and all of the dogmatic statements in the creed of the three doctrines to which it committed itself, has exhibited its uneasiness in continual efforts to modify and qualify its formulas. Some of its disciples, feeling, precisely as our first Unitarians felt, a shrinking reluctance against the plain literal meaning of the creed, and knowing that they could not accept it as “the Fathers” held it, and yet fearing to commit themselves to our theology, have tried in various ways, with an amazing exercise of ingenuity, to soften and dilute the creed. Especially on this one doctrine of the complete original depravity of human nature have there been endless variations and shadings of opinion. Therefore we must keep in view what the doctrine was, — what it is now in *the creed*, — as defining the doctrine which the Unitarians assailed and denied. The original, substantial Calvinistic doctrine on this point we find, of course, in Calvin’s works, — who received his views essentially from Augustine, — and in the formulas which professedly Calvinistic writers and authorities have advanced.

Professor Norton, in a tract entitled “Thoughts on True and False Religion,” had represented Calvinism as a “religion which teaches that God has formed men so that they are by nature wholly inclined to all moral evil; that he has determined in consequence to inflict upon the greater part of our race the most terrible punishments, and that, unless he has seen fit to place us among the small number of those whom he has chosen out of the common ruin, he will be our eternal enemy and infinite tormentor; that having hated us from our birth, he will continue to exercise upon us for ever his unrelenting

and omnipotent hatred." The writer referred any one who wished to examine this scheme to the Institutes of Calvin, and to the perfected development of it in the works of the Westminster Assembly. Here certainly there could be no question as to what form of *Orthodoxy* Mr. Norton was impugning: it was, distinctively, *Calvinism*.

The *Christian Spectator*, an Orthodox journal published at New Haven, in its number for May and June, 1822, quoted the above language of Mr. Norton, and reflected upon it with extreme severity of tone and epithet, accusing the writer of first *distorting*, and then stigmatizing as blasphemy, doctrines which had been received by a large proportion of intelligent and devout Christians. The reviewer in the *Spectator* added further, that the views portrayed by Mr. Norton had "never been taught or professed extensively, as fundamental doctrines of Christianity: that there never was a sect or body of men, denominated Christian, who would not reject this system as false and injurious, if presented to them as their creed: that there never was an individual author of any celebrity or influence, who ever taught or undertook to defend such doctrines; and that neither 'the Institutes of Calvin,' nor 'the works of the Westminster Assembly,' nor any of the Protestant Confessions of Faith, and, least of all, the confessions of those to whom he intended it should be applied, contain doctrines which are fairly represented by any clause of the foregoing extract."

Mr. Norton, feeling his reputation as an honest man to be insulted by this direct assault upon his integrity, addressed a letter to the editor of the *Christian Spectator*, the insertion of which in the pages of that journal he claimed as his right. In this letter he made a series of quotations from Calvin, from the works of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and from President Edwards, fully and triumphantly proving all his points and disproving those of his reviewer, either by the positive assertions made in these quotations, or by the irresistible inferences to be drawn in perfect fairness from them. We admit that these extracts, when arranged and summed up in their doctrines, present a most shocking portraiture of Calvinism. We do not wonder that an Orthodox

man should shrink from them with mingled feelings of horror and indignation, or that he should avail himself of all the skill of evasive dialectics and subtle metaphysics to find relief.

The editor of the *Spectator* refused to insert this letter, on the ground of its containing some "reproachful and menacing expressions," but promised to publish its substance if these were "purged" out of it. Still, though the editor refused to allow Mr. Norton to address his own reply to the readers of the *Spectator*, he proceeded to make a very imperfect and, unfair representation of the contents of the letter, and, by garbled, partial, and perverted quotations from the authorities in the case, to endeavor to set aside the overwhelming evidence adduced by Mr. Norton in support of his positions. Mr. Norton therefore published his letter, with the remarks of the *Spectator* upon it, in the *Christian Disciple* for July and August, 1822, and added some further comments of his own. The utmost that his reviewer had effected was to show that Calvinistic authorities contained some contradictory and inconsistent passages. Of this fact Mr. Norton, of course, was well aware, but it was no concern of his to disprove it. He convicted his reviewer, however, of absolute misrepresentation in a professed quotation from Calvin; of a poor quibble in applying the words "*creation of nature*" to the divine endowment with which each of us enters upon existence, when Calvin had used them only of the nature created in *Adam*; and of confounding an issue of metaphysics concerning the doctrine of *necessity*. There Mr. Norton left the matter, as well he might.

It is only with pain and regret that at this distance of time a Christian of any denomination can review this episode in the controversy. Candor and justice, however, demand that we record our deep and unrelieved sense of the disingenuousness to which recourse was had on the Orthodox side in this issue. How can there be serious or useful discussion where there is such artifice, such evasion practised in asserting and denying, in shifting one's ground, in disputing the authority of the very *authorities* first appealed to, and in denying the fairest inferences from dogmatic statements? Mark the startling inconsistency between passages from the two

attacks on Mr. Norton in the *Spectator*, as the second of them gives up the very point assumed in the first, and wholly abandons the original ground of the controversy. The *Spectator* first wrote thus: "We are often compelled to complain, that the opponents of Calvinism never fairly attack its doctrines, as they are stated by Calvin himself, or exhibited in the creeds of the churches, or the writings of the authors who bear his name." But after Mr. Norton had given a most scholarly and thorough answer to this plea, the same editorial pen, or authority, which had so recently sanctioned the above statement, was compelled—it is a sad revelation to make—to write or to sanction the following: "What Calvin believed and taught, and what any modern Calvinistic authors have taught, are questions of no real importance in the present discussion, any further than their opinions are proved to be prevalent in our own country." What an astounding inconsistency!

But why, — it may be asked, — why should we hold the Orthodox to the very form of words which was chosen centuries ago to express a doctrine the terms of which have since been modified? We answer, that we do this in order to meet the claims of historical truth and justice, and in order that we may clearly understand that of which we are speaking. The question does not, at this stage of it, concern the qualifications and abatements which in recent years may have been made of this doctrine of Orthodoxy. Unitarianism may or may not oppose these deviations and reductions. But at the opening of the controversy it was the real Calvinistic doctrine which was assailed,—the doctrine of the Westminster Assembly's Catechism which our fathers had accepted,—the doctrine of the New England Confession of Faith, which our churches sent forth in 1680. Fifty years ago the Orthodox began to complain, and they have ever since complained, that Unitarians misrepresented them in charging upon them "in this neighborhood" a shape of Orthodoxy which had been held by Calvinists of a former age, and which survived only in other parts of this country. And here we must be pardoned for giving frank expression to a disagreeable truth. There seems to Unitarians to be something evasive and very unworthy in the pleas with which the Orthodox have met our

exposures of what we regard as the errors of their system. They censure us and deny us the Christian name because we reject their creed; and when, with the best faculties which we possess for analyzing that creed, we attempt to state the reasons why we reject it, they proceed to tell us that they themselves do not hold the creed in what is to us its plain signification. We have endeavored to state fairly its essential doctrines, and the honest, unexaggerated inferences which logically flow from them. But no statement which we can make of the system is ever allowed by the Orthodox to be fair; some private qualifications which they attach to it in their own minds, and of which we have no means of knowing or judging, justify them, as they think, in charging us with misrepresentation. Now some Unitarians, no doubt, have made caricatures of Orthodoxy, and have aimed to load it with offensive, shocking, and blasphemous conditions. These exaggerators of the hideousness of Orthodoxy on our side correspond in temper and spirit, if not in tone, with those among our opponents whose delight is in stating Unitarianism at its *minimum* of every substance and effect, save those of pride and chilliness. But there have been candid and truth-loving men among us, and when such have tried their best to set forth their conceptions of Calvinism at one or more points, indorsing their statements with the testimony as to what had once been taught them and believed by them, the remonstrance was raised, "You are bearing false witness; you are ridiculing us."

Let it therefore be again repeated, Unitarianism opposed and still opposes the Calvinistic doctrine of the entailed corruption of human nature in all our race as the punishment of Adam's guilt. Nor did the Unitarians err in addressing their arguments against that authoritative statement of Calvinism which is given in the Orthodox creeds. The Orthodox wished to have the praise, they claimed the honorable and grateful repute, of "adhering to the faith of the fathers of New England." They claimed also the exclusive inheritance of the old piety, on the score of holding its doctrinal standards. Was not the assertion repeated by them even to weariness, — too often certainly to be regarded as a mere empty boast, — "We hold the doctrines of the Reformation, the doctrines of the fathers of New England"? Now the

Calvinistic doctrines were held heartily and firmly, and without subterfuges of metaphysics, by the fathers of New England. Their professed successors cannot enjoy at the same time the honor of holding their opinions and the privilege of changing them. We are ready to grant to the Orthodox the fullest benefit of all the modifications of this doctrine which the most ingenious man among them is able to devise. But we must urge that these modifications all accrue to our side, as they relax and soften and qualify the sternness of our old foe, and are yielded or availed of for the sake of mitigating the repulsiveness of the original doctrine. When Orthodoxy identifies itself with Calvinism, we, of course, must confront and oppose Calvinism. When Calvinism, with its teeth drawn, and its claws filed, and its horns lowered, and its hoofs covered, has tamed itself down into something called Orthodoxy, we shall first look at the thing from a safe distance, to judge how near it is best to come to it, and with what weapons we must be provided. How long actually it will take Calvinism really to transform itself into an angel of light, it is impossible to say. Time and truth have had a wonderful effect upon its visage, but its old trust-deeds, proclamations, and formulas are unalterable.

Here then is the doctrine which Unitarians understood that they were opposing. We quote from the sixth chapter of the Confession of Faith of the New England Churches.

“God having made a covenant of works and life thereupon, with our first parents, and all their posterity in them, they being seduced by the subtlety and temptation of Satan, did wilfully transgress the law of their creation, and break the covenant in eating the forbidden fruit. By this sin they, and we in them, fell from original righteousness and communion with God, and so became dead in sin, and wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body. They being the root, and by God’s appointment standing in the room and stead of all mankind, the guilt of this sin was imputed, and corrupted nature conveyed to all their posterity descending from them by ordinary generation. From this original corruption, whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil, do proceed all actual transgressions. This corruption of nature during this life doth remain in those that are regenerated; and although it be through Christ pardoned and mortified,

yet both itself and all the motions thereof are truly and properly sin. Every sin, both original and actual, being a transgression of the righteous law of God, and contrary thereunto, doth in its own nature bring guilt upon the sinner, whereby he is bound over to the wrath of God and curse of the law, and so made subject to death, with all miseries, spiritual, temporal, and eternal."

The Shorter Catechism of the Assembly, which also had been formally recognized by our churches, and was taught to all our children, advances the same doctrine on the same grounds, and tells us that "All mankind, by the fall [of Adam], lost communion with God, are under his wrath and curse, and so made liable to all the miseries of this life, to death itself, and to the pains of hell for ever."

We purposely abstain from adding to these authoritative statements of doctrine any quotations from approved Calvinistic writers, which follow it out into its revolting and blasphemous details. We think that the hideous and yet perfectly consistent speculations and representations made by Edwards, to set forth the horrors of hell-torments, the anguish of the reprobate who suffer them, and the exquisite happiness which the "righteous" derive from contemplating them, have done their service in controversy. It only aggravates our opponents if we renew those fearful delineations. We are content to follow the doctrine as nakedly presented in the formula. This is the doctrine which by profession one hundred years ago, and in sober sincerity two hundred years ago, underlaid the theology—the Calvinistic, the Orthodox theology—of New England. It was made the starting-point of the Christian system. It decided the terms of relation and duty, of accountability, judgment, and doom, in which men stood to God. It was made to establish the necessity and the method of redemption by an infinite sacrifice to God, designed to serve as a substitute with God for the sufferings of men. When Unitarians brought this doctrine into prominence, and made its positive, literal assertions, and the legitimate logical inferences from them, a ground for repudiating such theology, an alternative was presented to the Orthodox party. It offered them a choice between two honest and manly methods of pursuing the controversy in allegiance to simple truth, and with an entire security against those odious passions and

recriminations which entered into it. The one method would have held them to a candid allowance that they were pledged to that doctrine, with all the legitimate logical inferences which of course must be admitted to result from it as the basis of a system; and to a resolute, unswerving, and unabashed support of it against all opposition. The other method would have dictated to them to state frankly any abatement or qualification under which they might wish to accept the doctrine, and to insist upon their right so to modify it, and to be made answerable for only a mitigated form of the doctrine. But instead of following either of these methods, the disputants on the Orthodox side endeavored to devise a third method, fashioned from some of the proper elements of the other two, yet lacking, in our judgment, the candor and truthfulness of both of them. A *profession* was made of holding in all loyalty and confidence the faith of the Fathers; a *confession* was very reluctantly drawn out, that that faith was accepted only through certain undefined abatements made of it by a new philosophy of doctrine. We have read much of the controversial literature of the half-century, but we have not met with one single page which boldly meets the real issue opened by such a plea for Calvinism as would have been offered two hundred years ago. The very best proof possible that Orthodoxy did not at least understand the ground it had undertaken to occupy, and was consequently in danger of putting at risk and yielding something of what it was trying to defend, is offered us in the following curious fact, — that, in conducting the controversy with us, Orthodoxy opened controversies in its own ranks that have never yet been decided or pacified. "The Spirit of the Pilgrims" was established to do battle with Unitarians. But just midway in its series of volumes, the reader will find that it allowed us a breathing spell, while it occupied its pages with the doctrinal contentions in its own household, which at once arose when Orthodoxy undertook its own defence. Drs. Taylor, Tyler, Beecher, and Woods address each other, as well as ourselves, in those pages.

Dr. Woods, who aimed for candor and courtesy in his argument, realized the necessity of making a distinct avowal on this point; and he was the first writer of ability

on his side who yielded to the pressure of the Unitarian exposition of Calvinism by itself. He therefore wrote as follows: "If there is any principle respecting the moral government of God which the Orthodox clergy in New England earnestly labor to inculcate, it is this: that, as accountable beings, *we have a conscience and a power of knowing and performing our duty.* Our zeal in defence of this principle has been such as to occasion no small umbrage to some, who are attached to every feature and every phraseology of Calvinism. On this subject there is, in fact, a well-known difference between our views, and those of some modern, as well as more ancient divines, who rank high on the side of Orthodoxy." * How those who, according to the creed just quoted, are "wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body," and "disabled, and made opposite to all good," have still "a power of knowing and performing their duty," Dr. Woods does not attempt to show. The difference, therefore, by his own statement, between those who held his views, and the true Calvinists, is, that he tried to hold to Calvinism and to something utterly inconsistent with Calvinism. No wonder that "zeal in defence of this principle" occasioned "no small umbrage."

Thus it was that, the moment a decided opposition was raised by Unitarians to this Calvinistic doctrine, those who came forward to vindicate it began to evade its full force. They shrank from facing it; they shrink from it now: they try to soften it. A hair's breadth of relief from the pressure of the doctrine has been held as a blessing by those who have argued in its defence. We might try to present here a series of the ingenious or futile, the actual or only apparent modifications, and attempted modifications, of this Calvinistic doctrine. But some of them are unintelligible to ourselves, and others of them which we think we understand we know we could not make intelligible to our readers. By and by we must refer to some of them. We must not, however, leave an impression that, singly or together, they give much relief. They are of service to us, as showing a constant uneasiness under any form by which the old doctrine has as yet been presented, and as indicating how

* Letters to Unitarians, p. 130.

trifling a relaxation of its old terms will be welcomed as a comfort.

The doctrine still stands, however, unchanged in word, unrelaxed in authority, in the formulas of Orthodox churches. Still is the repute of holding the faith of the Fathers claimed by those who are called Orthodox. The Westminster Catechism and Confession are the standards of the American Presbyterian Church. The Confession is the doctrinal foundation of the Saybrook Platform, which was re-adopted by the General Association of Connecticut in 1810. The Reformed Dutch Church uses the Confession of Faith of the Synod of Dort, which certainly does not soften this one Calvinistic doctrine. We know, too, that those who formed and phrased these standards held this doctrine with an unflinching steadfastness, in the boldness and fearlessness of which they seem even to have found a trifle of merit on their own part, while they never shrank from the most unrelieved statement of the doctrine. And this is the doctrine which Unitarianism rejected, positively, and without qualification, concession, or tolerance; asserting that it is not taught in the Bible, but is utterly inconsistent with the teachings of that book; that it dishonors God by ascribing to him a method arbitrary, unjust, and wholly subversive of all righteous law; that it wrongs human nature, destroys moral responsibility, corrupts the Christian system, unsettles morality, and leads to infidelity and irreligion. This is the ground of opposition, and these are the terms of it which Unitarianism recognized at the opening of the controversy. Unitarianism has held its ground without misgiving or compromise. Unitarianism means to hold its ground, — no more and no less than its ground, — on this matter of doctrine. Its courage and assurance and confidence have steadily increased, as it has realized its own strength and the weakness of its antagonist on this doctrine of the entail on all the human race, on account of the sin of one man, of a corrupted nature, which must work corruption in this life, and which is sentenced to the torments of hell for ever.

When the human mind calmly and deliberately, without bias, but with all the seriousness of which it is capable, brings itself to confront that doctrine, two great tests will present themselves for trying its truth. How does it

consist with faith in a God of adorable attributes, a Being of infinite wisdom, power, and benevolence? How has the preaching of it affected the great mass of those to whom it has been taught, in persuading them to believe it, and in impressing them with any sense of its appalling significance corresponding to its terrific threatenings? It is impossible for any active mind to repress its own instinctive impulse to apply these two great tests to the doctrine. Indeed, the irresistible evidence furnished by any fair inquiry through the second test, as it presents us with matters of practical experience, is so conclusive against this doctrine, that we are content with simply asserting, without any argument, that the doctrine cannot abide the first test. The utter unconcern, the blank sense of unreality, with which the vast mass of human beings have heard that doctrine preached and taught, has proved it to be in fact but little better than a bugbear. It is to be remembered that our churches here were constituted at first of men and women who had been *picked out* as already believers of the doctrine; but as soon as they had descendants, and the increase of population had brought society into that state of mixed and various elements which is natural under ordinary circumstances, the doctrine became a fable to a larger number of persons than those to whom it was a truth. Indeed, the preaching of the doctrine never excited the dread in any one of our communities which attended merely the apprehension of a visitation of the small-pox. But, in the mean while, what was the influence of the theoretical truth and authority of this doctrine upon all the best interests of religion among us? It caused an untold amount of unbelief and indifference and irreligion.

Consider, now, how appalling and crushing is this old Calvinistic dogma. God fashioned this globe as the habitation of a race of his own intelligent creatures, of beings made in his likeness and gifted with his inspiration. God then staked the issue as to the nature, the character, the experience, and the doom of all the uncounted millions to be born here "by ordinary generation," through all ages, upon a single act of the first pair who represented humanity on this fresh earth. God was thwarted in his purpose at the very start. His first two

children acted for all his children, and by the deed of a moment, instigated not by any evil inclination of their own, — for by the theory they were created *holy*, — but by the subtlety of a wicked spirit, consigned themselves and all their posterity to the dread pit of torments. Human reason instantly suggests, if God was so early thwarted in his plan because the constitution of those two beings, with their state of exposure to Satan, brought them so instantaneously to ruin, why did he not at once cut short the growth from a corrupted stock, forbid the mischief to extend even into one more generation, and create a second pair? If the doctrine be true, we enter upon life at a dreadful disadvantage. As the famous Dr. Bellamy frankly affirmed, in full consistency with his creed, “Mankind were by their fall [meaning by *their*, Adam’s] brought into a state of being *infinitely worse than not to be*.”* We as frankly own, that Unitarians can say nothing worse of this doctrine than one of its own defenders said of it in that sentence. And yet we should even now be met with the old charge of misrepresentation, if by way of construction and inference from that assertion we should say, that Dr. Bellamy admitted that all the power which God has exerted in the creation of all human beings since the first two, has resulted in something infinitely worse than would have been a perfect blank of non-existence. Our patrimony is all spent. The portion of our father’s goods which would have fallen to us was all squandered by our eldest brother. Scripture tells us that there is a curse upon the fields of our labor; but Calvin has gone beyond the Scripture, which cursed neither Adam nor Eve, and has taught us that there is a curse upon the soul of every infant, even while it is in the womb. The prospect, the hope, the elating, spurring motive of a possible charm and blessing in existence, is destroyed for us by a foregone conclusion at our birth. Tell a young man, in the prime of his manhood, that, as his father died leaving unpaid debts, he must give up all the fruits of his own toil till those debts are discharged, and the buoyancy of youth and a filial sentiment may perhaps bear him cheerfully through the sacrifice. Tell a young man, that his father was bound

* Works, Vol. I. p. 333.

at his death by an unfulfilled contract, and manly honor may induce the son to complete it. Or tell that young man, that his deceased parent died in a penitentiary where he had spent but half of the years for which he was sentenced, and that he, the son, must go in and serve out the sentence. Possibly, even then, a loyalty to the laws of a community, which, as they secure to a son his father's property, might also impose a father's obligations, might induce the son to acquiesce uncomplainingly in the hard exaction. But tell us, all who live, or ever have lived, or ever shall live, of the race of Adam, that we accede to the obligations of one of his debts which there is no paying by all our labors, — that we are held to a contract which we never have made, and which God, one of the parties to it, has discharged himself from keeping according to its original terms with us, whom he has nevertheless compelled to be the other party to it, — and that while we are yet in the womb a transfer is made to us of an endless sentence in the pit of hell; — tell us all this, and what heart of man, what hope, what faith, can face it, as the appointment of a just God? A child has to be taught that doctrine. And what a lesson it is for father or mother to teach to a child, — to teach, too, as a doctrine of the Bible, the will of God!

We read in that Bible of Jehovah and of Baal. The book leaves us at perfect liberty, — indeed, it asks us *to choose* either of those beings as our God. By what ground of choice do we take Jehovah, and not Baal, for our Deity, to believe in, to worship, to love? Our choice is not decided by the words, the names, applied to the one or the other of those deities, but by the character, the dealings, the purposes, ascribed to each of them. We choose the ONE who is to be loved, to be revered, because of his holiness, his justice, his righteousness, his benignity. And so reason enters its protest against that doctrine. For there is a certain test principle within us, call it reason, judgment, or by whatever name we will, which we must apply at least in first accepting the Bible on the score of what it contains. There is no denying that reason, the highest gift of God to us, is shocked by that doctrine. Even the defenders of the doctrine allow this. Dr. Dwight says, "Perhaps no doctrine is more reluc-

tantly received by the human mind."* Even if the doctrine were plainly and positively taught in a Bible, the issue would then be, Does that Bible authenticate the doctrine? or, Does that doctrine disprove and nullify the claims of the Bible? We feel no hesitation in affirming, that a Bible which advanced that doctrine would divest itself of the first and all-essential proof from its contents that it came from inspiration of God, and would throw upon all the other elements of such proof a burden which it is almost inconceivable that they could bear.

Below this and all similar discussions as to Scripture doctrine, lies a question, which, although it may be uncandidly and unfairly presented or arrayed, must be honorably allowed its full pertinence and propriety; namely, Does the system of doctrine taught in the Bible conform itself to, or outrage, the highest and purest exercise of the natural abilities which God has given to his creatures for interpreting a revelation from him? Are we driven to the alternative of living wholly without God, without faith, or of conforming our faith to a shocking and unreasonable representation of God and his ways? Does the Bible teach such a scheme as those who wish to have its help in a right and holy life can accept? If it does not, it will be classed with the Shasters, the Vedas, and the Koran. Theologians of all parties and sects may assure themselves that this is henceforward the real issue on trial before the world. And the parties for trying that issue are not a few classes of theological students, trained under professional influences, made to cramp the natural processes of their minds by subtle metaphysical speculations, and taught to infuse the pure zeal of earnest hearts for evangelizing the world into a strained allegiance to a creed which the heart repudiates. No! Not one in a score of those whom Orthodoxy addresses with this dogma accepts it, believes it, or does otherwise than loathe it. Let Orthodoxy regard, before it is too late, that trial of its dogmas which the other nineteen out of every twenty of those who listen to it are making. Dr. Woods says: "Without supposing that Unitarians have a preconceived opinion which they wish to support, I am not able to account for it, that they

* Sermon XXIX.

should interpret the word of God as they do."* It is even so. Unitarians, we are free to confess, have a *preconceived opinion*, though it is by no means confined to avowed Unitarians. It is only by and through the help of that *preconceived opinion* that we are able or disposed to take the first step towards receiving the Bible as in any sense "the word of God," and not the word of Baal. The *preconceived opinion* which we possess and exercise is just as much a revelation from God as anything that Prophet or Apostle ever wrote; and revelation was given to add something more to it, not to mock and outrage and deny it. The same Andover theologian, in addressing Unitarians previously (Letter IV.) had written: "We have nothing to do with the question, how the common doctrine of depravity can consist with the moral perfection of God." But, it may be asked, in what way, through what means and processes, are we persuaded of "the moral perfection of God"? Certainly not through a doctrine which is utterly inconsistent with all the instincts and perceptions which God has given us. Would Dr. Woods maintain, that we have the means of assuring to ourselves the perfection of the Deity, wholly apart from the study of his methods in nature and revelation? Would he maintain, that by these supposed means we can so convince ourselves of that sublime truth, that no amount of injustice or cruelty attributed to God would either shake our faith in him, or bring into doubt the record of an alleged revelation which so impugned his equity? The *methods* of the Divine government cannot be distinguished so positively from the *attributes* of the Deity, as to leave our confidence in his moral perfection unimpaired by the slightest deviation from absolute equity in his dealings with us.

The question will naturally present itself to many minds, How have men ever been made able or willing to accept this doctrine? How have they overcome the shrinking reluctance of their own reason at a doctrine which they supposed was taught in the Bible? Why did they not rather discredit the Bible, than accept the doctrine? Much might be said in reply to this question. If we had space and motive for its thorough discussion, we should raise a doubt whether the doctrine ever had

* Works, Vol. IV. p. 271.

been really and intensely believed by any large number of intelligent persons. We are aware that this assertion will provoke one of those positive, protesting affirmations, that millions of pious Christians have heartily believed the doctrine. We are willing to admit that they thought they believed it. But this is very far from satisfying us that all, or even the larger part, of those who have nominally professed to hold this doctrine, have ever grasped and wrestled with its appalling horrors, and, after stoutly and intelligently pursuing it by the logic of its antecedents and its consequences, have yielded to an entire persuasion that it is the truth of God. If it be said that millions of the believers in the Molochs and Juggernauts of heathenism have held, without misgiving, doctrines of a similar character concerning their gods, we reply that there is an unspeakable difference between the two classes of believers, — the Christian and the heathen, — as indicated by *the whole* of their respective religions. Heathenism is self-consistent. Its doctrines harmonize with each other, and one who accepts a portion of them can accept the rest. But a Christian who professes to believe this doctrine, that a corrupted nature, which dooms us all to unending torments, has been entailed upon us by ordinary generation on account of the sin of Adam, is compelled to receive it in connection with Scripture doctrines of the Divine justice and benignity, and of human individuality in duty and responsibility, which are totally and irreconcilably inconsistent with it. So we infer that his *belief* must necessarily be mistrustful, wavering, and not fully assured. Whether the fact that most, if not all, of the men and women who have professed to believe this doctrine have had the effort of belief facilitated to them by the assurance that, through some remedial process of free grace, they had been delivered personally from the terrific sweep of the doctrine, is a suggestion which we do not care to follow out. Any one who could believe this doctrine concerning all his race the more readily, because, without any merit of his own, he was rescued from its eternal sentence, would be a monster of selfishness.

Those who have professed and have tried, successfully or otherwise, to believe this doctrine, have held it on the ground of the "sovereignty of God." They have referred it to the dread and irresistible prerogative

of that Being who has a right to fashion clay to honor or to dishonor, to do what he will and as he will with his creatures, and who doubtless will be able to vindicate *his justice*, even to those who call it *injustice*. In stern loyalty to that view of the sovereignty of God, sincere and pious men and women have choked down the risings of a spirit rebelling against this doctrine.

It is plain that only the most positive authority and the most explicit testimony could lead us even to entertain such a doctrine as having a claim on our thoughts. It is but little to say that the authority, the testimony adduced for the doctrine, are totally inadequate to sustain it. The evidence adduced for it from the Scriptures is essentially drawn from a single passage in the Old Testament, and a single passage in the New Testament. There are indeed many sentences scattered over the Bible which are alleged as incidentally confirming and illustrating the doctrine. But its intelligent believers will not deny that, were it not for the two passages which are supposed explicitly to assert it, the doctrine would not be claimed as a Bible doctrine.

The first of these two passages is the narrative in the Book of Genesis, of the creation, the sin, and the punishment of Adam. Even if we interpret that narrative in the most rigidly literal manner, we cannot find in it the faintest intimation of the doctrine of the Westminster Catechism. Not one word is said in the narrative to imply that the sin of Adam passed over to his own children even, much less to all his posterity. It is not asserted that his act of sin corrupted his own *nature* even, much less the nature with which God, for all time to come, would endow his posterity. What a stupendous interpolation does the creed force into the record, in its positive, but most false assertion, that Adam was acting for all his posterity, and that he "stood in the room and stead of all mankind," and that *death for him* means *eternal torments for all his race* ! There is not a word of it in the record. Adam is addressed as an individual, acting by himself and for himself alone, and for no one except or beyond himself. "Thou shalt," and "Thou shalt not," is the emphatic announcement of his own unshared obligation and responsibility. The most literal interpretation of the record confutes the creed. But no one — no, not a

single intelligent reader — confines himself to a strictly literal interpretation of that narrative. Whatever be the religious opinions of such a reader, he sees at once that some allowance, more or less, must be made for the Oriental imagery, the figures of speech, the rhetoric and the drapery, of that concise record of a far-off age. All interpreters make such allowances, — not the same allowances, indeed, in matter and degree, but some allowances; they all depart from the letter of the narrative, and explain it constructively and inferentially, the question between interpreters being, Which explanation is the right one?

Every just and consistent claim of that narrative is met when we regard it as giving a sketch of the workings and the experiences of humanity on this earth, in an allegorical representation, by which an individual is made to stand as a type of us all. *Adam* is and means *Man*, and Adam's experience is representative of the experience of all human beings. We are all created as he was. Human nature works in us as it worked in him. We sin as he sinned; we suffer as he suffered; we die as he died. We do not sin *because* he sinned, but *as* he sinned; *in like manner*, since we have a like nature. We do not *suffer* because *he sinned*, but because we ourselves sin. The narrative teaches us that a being constituted as we are, — a type of humanity on the earth, — with our endowments and limitations of nature, our balanced powers and infirmities, subjected to the tenure and the exposures of life here, would be capable of sinning and liable to sin, — that he would sin, and that his sin would subject him to labor and sorrow and death. This is the solemn, yet not unreasonable, doctrine of the narrative. It is sufficiently serious and overshadowing in the dismay and awe which it casts over us. Yet we accept the lesson in all its solemnity, and would not trifle with a letter which is used in conveying it to us. It would be invested with an unrelieved gloom to us, did not the narrative immediately connect with this typical representation of the workings of the experiment of humanity, the promise of continued aid, and of mercy and blessing and redemption from God. So far is the narrative from asserting that the personal sin of Adam entailed a vitiated nature on his posterity, that it expressly tells us that

one of the two sons of Adam was righteous and approved of God. But supposing even that the original human stock had been corrupted in Adam, the flood was designed to secure a new and purified stock, and the progenitor in that hope, in whom it is written that the world had a new start, was "righteous Noah," while all human beings, save himself and his family, were cut off. It is written, "Noah was a just man, and perfect in his generations; and Noah walked with God." (Genesis vi. 9.) His family started afresh, with a new blessing from God: "And God blessed Noah and his sons." Why then, if *character* is propagated from a parent, — why did not Noah propagate a pure stock?

That one narrative of Adam in and out of Paradise is the only passage in the Old Testament which can be alleged as recognizing in any way our connection with his personal sin or *Fall*. Not another sentence, not another line in all the elder Scriptures, ever makes the slightest reference to the subject. No oracle, vision, chronicle, proverb, or psalm recognizes the doctrine. Not a single one of the inspired prophets of the Almighty to the Jews ever uttered, so far as we know, one word implying that Adam acted for all his posterity, ruined us all in his fall, and so foreclosed the trial of existence for all who should ever live. Is not this an amazing fact, — that those sacred oracles should be so dumbly silent about a matter which is said to underlie the whole doctrinal teaching of revelation!

One passage in the New Testament furnishes all the substantial authority which the Gospel is supposed to give to this doctrine. Not a word, however, can be quoted from the Saviour's lips in recognition, still less as an assertion, of the doctrine. The passage referred to is not from the teaching of Christ, but from an argumentative letter of St. Paul. In the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, we read an illustrative comment on the narrative in Genesis, — not a new revelation of doctrine. We find nothing in the Apostle's statement which conflicts with, but, on the contrary, everything to favor, the view we have already derived from the earlier record. If in the peculiar style or method of the Apostle's reasoning he may seem to imply more than the record conveys from which he quotes, that is a trace of a habit of his which the intelligent interpreter of his writings meets

with in other places in his Epistles. His words are: "As by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned." And this is saying, *not* that we all sin because our progenitor sinned, *nor* that we all die because he sinned, but that, as the first man was a sinner and a mortal, so we are all sinners and all mortal; not because of a corrupt nature, but because of a human nature.

Yet it is said that this doctrine of a disabled nature entailed upon us by ordinary generation finds support in the whole system of revealed truth. We affirm that it is wholly and at every point inconsistent with that system, and with each of the doctrinal elements that enter into it. It is not consistent with the attributes of God, as Wise, and Good, and Righteous. To say that his whole scheme was thwarted, and that one lapse of one individual ruined a race of beings, and visited upon the unborn in endless succession the guilt of a sin to which they were not parties, — to say this, will not harmonize with the character of God. Some Orthodox writers have presumed that they involved Unitarians in a dilemma, by reminding us, that, though we assert that this doctrine of *native depravity* is not consistent with justice in our Creator, we still have to admit that the existence of Evil is consistent with the attributes of that Being. But we do not recognize the dilemma. The allowance of evil may be a means of good for all men, but native depravity must insure the ruin of untold millions. Dr. Woods* speaks of "that vulgar charge, which contains too much apparent truth to be directly denied, and yet too much falsehood to be admitted, that we [the Orthodox] represent men to be as God made them, incapable of any good till renewed by *irresistible* influence, irreversibly appointed to destruction without any regard to their sins." We will not use the word *quibble* in connection with anything that *seemed* like an argument to Dr. Woods. We must say, however, that the Westminster creed asserts literally, positively, and fully of God, all that Dr. Woods here repudiates. The loophole for escape, however, lies in this plea, — that when we are born into this world we are not what *God* made us, but what *Adam* made us.

* Works, Vol. IV. pp. 335, 336.

Again, this doctrine is inconsistent with what revelation teaches of the nature of man, as a free, moral, and accountable being, capable of good and evil, living in individual responsibility, never bearing the iniquity even of his nearest in kin, nor having his teeth set on edge because his father had eaten sour grapes. It is inconsistent, too, with the purpose of life, as an opportunity, a gift, a fair trial, an unprejudiced experiment, and not a foregone conclusion to each and every human being. The doctrine is inconsistent at every point with the Christian scheme. The Calvinistic system, which teaches this doctrine, expressly affirms that the Gospel of Christ does not save all men. So, according to this doctrine, the Christian remedy is not equal to meeting the disease entailed upon our race. Adam did more of harm to our race than Christ can do of benefit. God — for in the Calvinistic scheme Christ is God — cannot wholly undo for the innocent the mischief wrought upon them by one of his own creatures! Well may the modern Calvinist object to *inferences* from his doctrine, however rigidly fair the logic by which they are drawn. Now St. Paul says that the free gift of Redemption from God by Christ is *more*, instead of *less*, than the offence of sin by Adam; that grace *exceeds*, rather than *falls short* of the occasion for it. "Where sin abounded, grace did much more abound," is the Apostle's emphatic statement. But it cannot be true in an economy under which a human being entails sin and ruin upon his whole race, while a Divine Being — the Redeemer — rescues only a portion of that race. "Not as the offence," says St. Paul, "so also is the free gift. For if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many." (Romans v. 15.) But is it so by the Calvinistic scheme? Look at it and see. Adam brought ruin upon every one of his posterity. "The guilt of his sin is imputed, and corrupted nature conveyed to all by ordinary generation," says the creed. Adam, then, made shipwreck of the race. Christ saves individuals here and there. The first pair could communicate their corrupted nature to unborn millions; but Christian parents, regenerated, purified, and sanctified by Christ, cannot communicate their renewed nature to a single one in a large

family of their own children. It would be difficult, with such a theology as this, to calculate by how much the free gift is *less* than the offence. But our Orthodox brethren must devise a more subtle philosophy than they have yet invented, to rectify the loss on their side of the balance by the excess on the Apostle's side. We cannot but conclude that this doctrine, instead of being conformed to the Christian system, is in utter discordance with it. Sin has come in like an ocean tide, bearing all before it; the Orthodox Gospel saves only here and there a wreck from the dreary wastes of woe.

We must now fix our attention for a moment upon one of the most odious features of this doctrine, because it was there that the struggle against it was concentrated by its opponents, and its professed believers began their attempts at modifying it. Observe in the creed the assertion made as positively and literally as language will allow, that a corrupted nature is conveyed, by ordinary generation, to all of Adam's posterity, in consequence of his personal sin. To an ingenuous mind this assertion can convey but one idea. The lamentable shifts and evasions and subtilties to which Orthodox theologians have had recourse during the last half-century, in trying to evade the plain meaning of this article of their creed, are a scandal upon our whole profession. That we ought to expect a long and sad reckoning to be visited upon us, in a widely diffused unbelief, a distrust of religious teaching, and a general and dismal sense of unreality about theological dogmas, is but a looking for a retribution, the tokens of which are too evident to be disputed. If this Orthodox doctrine is not a most shameful trifling with solemnities, as well as with language, it asserts that, by the constitution and appointment of God, the one man Adam had the power to communicate a vitiated nature, like an hereditary disease, not merely to the bodies, but to the souls, of all human beings, and that the possession of that vitiated nature disables us for anything good, and inclines us to all evil, involving us all in guilt, and dooming us all to woe. This doctrine either contradicts truth and reason, in affirming that any one can be a partaker in sin committed before his birth, or it contradicts justice and righteousness, by subjecting us to punishment for the offence of another. Now the doctrine

of a *sinful nature* being propagated by bodily descent, like an hereditary disease, is the most outrageous and malignant form of materialism ever devised. It makes *man*, instead of *God*, to be "the *Father of Spirits*." And what is the meaning of the phrase, a *sinful nature*? Does not this assign to nature what can be assigned only to *character*? Would Orthodoxy persuade us that we create our own *nature*? Would Orthodoxy transfer from God to Adam the office of endowing human souls? Character exhibits moral qualities, and within the range of its freedom involves responsibility; but *nature* is an original limitation and confine within which there is no responsibility. A sinful action is a possibility, a sinful nature is an impossibility.

An episode in the controversy upon the Scripture doctrine concerning the nature and the state of man, related to the doom of those who died in infancy. We must make some reference to this episode, though it must needs be brief.

The Christian Disciple for May and June, 1823, had quoted the following sentences from Dr. Twiss, Prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly: "In regard to those who are condemned to eternal death solely on account of original sin, their condemnation to eternal death is the consequence of Adam's transgression alone. But many infants depart this life in original sin, and consequently are condemned to eternal death on account of original sin alone; therefore the *condemnation of many* INFANTS to ETERNAL DEATH is the consequence of Adam's transgression *solely*." "Adam's sin is made ours by the imputation of God; so that it has exposed INNUMERABLE INFANTS to DIVINE WRATH, who were guilty of this sin, AND OF NO OTHER." "There,"—adds the Disciple,—“we ask whether any Unitarian ever attempted to color or exaggerate a doctrine like this,—a doctrine taught in so many words by the Prolocutor of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and by a thousand others,—a doctrine, moreover, which follows necessarily from the Calvinistic system, and which would now be insisted on by all real and consistent Calvinists, if they thought their people would bear it?” (p. 220.) In an earlier volume of the same periodical had occurred this sentence: “We suspect that Orthodox congregations are less accustomed

than formerly, to hear of infants being justly liable to the eternal pains of hell."* Dr. Lyman Beecher, in a note to the seventh edition, published in 1827, of a sermon originally preached and printed in 1808, repelled as a calumny the charge that Calvinists believe and teach "the monstrous doctrine that infants are damned." He asserted among other things, that, having lived fifty years, "and been conversant for thirty years with the most approved Calvinistic writers, he had never seen nor heard of any book which contained such a sentiment." He added: "And I would earnestly and affectionately recommend to all persons who have been accustomed to propagate this slander, that they commit to memory without delay the ninth commandment, which is, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.'" The *Christian Examiner* (Vol. 1V. p. 431, for 1837) boldly took up the implied challenge of Dr. Beecher, and positively affirmed that "the doctrine of infant damnation has been expressly maintained by leading Calvinists, and is connected with essential, vital principles of the Calvinistic system." Then followed a series of articles in the *Examiner*, and a series of letters by Dr. Beecher in the *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, in exchange, not exactly of *courtesies*, but of arguments and testimonies, and of what were designed for arguments and testimonies, on either side of the issue thus opened. To say, as in the spirit of perfect candor and full sincerity we are compelled to say, that Dr. Beecher was utterly and most ingloriously vanquished, and that his opponent gained a complete and unquestionable victory, — to say this, while it affords us no pleasure whatever, may be accounted as only a partisan boast on our part. If any one is inclined to judge, not us, but our decision or opinion on this matter, we will be content with receiving his promise that he will read the articles referred to in the fourth and fifth volumes of the *Christian Examiner*. Never, in our judgment, was there a more fair, or thorough, or exhaustive, or decisive course of argument, authenticated at every point, brought to sustain an assumed position in a matter of controversy, than may be found in those papers. The utmost that Dr. Beecher could be induced to admit sustained only the assertion

* *Christian Disciple* for 1819, p. 279.

already quoted by us from the Christian Disciple, that Calvinism taught "that infants are justly liable to the pains of hell." He acknowledged that, according to his creed, "infants, by the imputation of Adam's sin, are depraved and guilty, and on this account children of wrath, and exposed justly to future punishment." * He admitted it also to be a doctrine of Calvinism, according to Turretin, "that infants *deserve* damnation, because, though not subjects of law as regards *action*, they are as regards *disposition*." We should have been fully content to have accepted these admissions as a complete warrant for the assertion that the doctrine of infant damnation "is connected with vital, essential principles of the Calvinistic system." The essence of the horrifying imputation which Calvinism casts upon the Creator consists rather in ascribing to him the making of dying infants *liable* to the doom of hell, than in positively affirming that any infants suffer that doom. The Westminster Catechism and the New England Confession tell us that "*Elect* infants dying in infancy are saved by Christ." But all the reserved and implied difference which there is between *infants* and *elect* infants is certainly suggestive of a class of *non-elect* infants, and if the distinction in the terms secures salvation to the *elect*, it intimates perdition for the *non-elect*, "dying in infancy."

If, besides drawing out these Orthodox allowances and implications, Unitarianism had wished to repel the charge of having invented this calumny against Orthodoxy or Calvinism, a very few quotations like the following from writers not on the Unitarian side would have sufficed.

Bishop Jeremy Taylor writes thus: "Gregorius Ariminensis, Driedo, Luther, Melancthon, and Tilmanus Heshusius, are fallen into the worst of St. Austin's [Augustine's] opinion, and sentence poor infants to the flames of hell for original sin, if they die before baptism." †

Rev. Thomas Stackhouse writes thus: "The Calvinists carry the matter much farther [than the Schoolmen], asserting that original sin (besides an exclusion from heaven) deserves the punishment of *damnation*; and therefore they conclude that such infants as die unbaptized, and are

* Spirit of the Pilgrims, Vol. I. p. 46.

† Heber's Taylor, Vol. IX. p. 91.

not of the number of the *elect* (which have always a particular exemption), are, for the transgression of our first parents, condemned to the eternal torments of hell-fire. It must be confessed that the doctrine of the Church of England makes too near approaches to this opinion, when it tells us that, 'in every person born into the world, original sin deserves God's wrath and damnation,' — for the words seem to be too strong and express, to admit of those mollifying constructions which some, by way of apology, have thought proper to put upon them." *

While it would be the most hopeless of all tasks for a Calvinist to attempt to set aside the assertions quoted from "leading Calvinists," beginning with Calvin himself, in proof that the damnation of some infants has been expressly taught by them, it would be equally vain for such an advocate to dispute the logical inference of the doctrine from the Calvinistic system. How can the doctrine be kept out, as a consequence of that view of the nature and the state of man which we have been examining as a matter of controversy?

We must now attempt to state, in terms as brief and plain as is possible, the doctrinal position which Unitarianism has taken in rejecting this Calvinistic dogma of the ruin of the human race by the sin of the first man, and the consequent entail upon every human being of a depraved nature, the burden of which is guilt, the fruit of which is sin, and the doom of which is eternal woe. It can hardly be said that Unitarianism has fashioned any dogma of its own upon this point. Like all other classes of Christians, like all other serious thinkers, we are baffled by the original moral mystery involved in the existence or allowance of evil in the universe of God. The solution of that mystery would be an essential condition of any full and complete doctrinal formula as to the source of sin in man's heart and life, and before that mystery we bow in a bewildered amazement, and with an oppressed spirit which cannot look for relief in this stage and scene of our being. The great and leading position which Unitarianism takes in antagonism with the Calvinistic doctrine on this point is, that there must be some other construction put upon the facts and the

* Body of Divinity, 1760, pp. 292, 293.

arguments which are the materials for a theory, a construction radically opposed to that which Orthodoxy gives them. Unitarianism lives upon the conviction, that earth or heaven must afford some other explanation of our frailty and sinfulness than the assertion that the fruits of one man's disobedience are entailed upon all his posterity. Unitarianism lives upon the assurance that there must be some other mode of representing the essential terms of the Divine government over us, than by including among them this of the propagation through ordinary physical generation of a corrupted moral nature, the possession and the exercise of which makes us guilty before God. If God be the righteous legislator and judge of every human soul, he cannot hold us amenable to a higher standard than our natures will admit, nor visit upon us a sentence for another's sin, nor extend our responsibility beyond the range of our individual ability. By no effort of reasoning, and by no humbling restraint placed upon our impulse to reason, — by no straining of the mind to reach after truth above its grasp, and by no violent crushing down of our rebellious remonstrances, — can we reconcile the Calvinistic doctrine with our instinctive or our educated conceptions of God, the Wise, the Omnipotent, the Righteous. If this mortal life of ours puts us on trial for an eternity of conscious existence, no retributive results there can have in them the first element of justice, unless we have had an unprejudiced start here. Any disability of nature, any taint or bias or proclivity which precedes the conscious exercise of our powers, becomes an infinite injustice to us when its consequences are projected into a future state.

Yet Unitarianism recognizes the deep and the unsounded perplexities of this subject. No serious person can ever think or speak otherwise than with a profound and oppressive solemnity and dread about sin, the perversion and debasement of moral powers, the source of unmeasured woe, the defying attitude of human beings toward God. It is a relief to us to know that even the Orthodox theory of it is compelled to recognize for sin an origin or agency apart from the sphere of humanity, in attributing the instigation of it to a spirit of evil. Still Orthodoxy leaves wholly unexplained the alleged fact, that the Good Spirit subjected the first pair, on whose

conduct the fate of uncounted millions of intelligent beings was staked, to the machinations of that evil spirit. Unitarianism admits all the perplexing mysteries of fact and experience about sin, but does not feel disposed to deepen or increase them by involving them with satanic agencies, or with dates or incidents prior to or outside of human life on this globe. Unitarianism does not deny the sinfulness of man, nor does it discharge that sinfulness of positive guilt, nor does it trifle with the consequences of sin here or hereafter. Some of the most appalling admissions, and some of the most startling assertions as to the guilt and the devastations of sin, are to be found in the writings of Unitarians. We think our general views of it are all the more serious, because we ascribe it to character, not to nature, and regard it as a wilful wrong-doing, not as an inherited disease. Unitarians ask the Orthodox to help them, and they offer their aid to the Orthodox, that together we may try to cast some rays of reason, light, and truth upon this mystery of sin. But Unitarians insist, firmly and positively, without yielding on this point a hair's breadth, that the explanation proposed shall not involve the dogma that we are born with a depraved heart, that life is a foregone conclusion when it begins, that the nature which is God's endowment of us is corrupt, and that the character which is the development of that nature and the element of our accountability is from the first committed to a diseased and wicked growth. Calvin tells us (Comment. on Ephesians ii. 3): "We are not born such beings as Adam was created in the beginning, but are the corrupt descendants of a degenerate and adulterate parent." Dr. Woods, even in a note designed to relieve this dreary doctrine (Letter XI.), says: "There is nothing which hinders man from obedience but his depraved disposition, his wicked heart." What a dismal way of intimating that an impossibility might be a possibility, if it were not an impossibility! Suppose Dr. Woods, travelling with a companion on a dreary wilderness way, and coming to a well which he knew to be poisoned, should say: "There is nothing to hinder our being saved from a terrific death, and helped on to our happy homes, by the waters of this well, *except* that they are mixed with a deadly poison." His companion, if not an Orthodox casuist, would be apt

to reply, that the exception was fatal to any desired good from the waters. It is but little to say of the Calvinistic doctrine, that it relieves us of all responsibility. It substitutes a Pharaoh for our God, ever demanding his tale of brick while he withholds the material of them. Unitarians, therefore, insist that as to that weakness or liability in human nature which shows itself as we grow up as sinfulness, some other explanation of its origin shall be found than to call it an entailed curse, and some other reason shall be assigned for its existence in us than the sin of a progenitor, and some other title be given to it than guilt, and some other retribution be announced for our helpless disability than that of a hopeless hell.

Unitarians have been seeking, and are still seeking, for relief and for such satisfaction as may be within the reach of human faculties, concerning the problem of evil. They have received some most valuable aid in their speculations from Orthodox writers, who have worked, to some extent, with us and for us, while appearing to work against us. All the modifications, abatements, and palliatives of which professedly Orthodox writers have felt compelled to avail themselves in dealing with this doctrine, have been of great service to us. In the mean while Unitarianism, taking Scripture for its guide, develops its own peculiar views somewhat after the manner following. After God had fashioned and furnished this earth, he left it for long ages without a human inhabitant, while vegetables and animals lived and died upon it. The remains of these primeval plants and creatures, imbedded in some of the lower strata of the earth, bear witness for themselves. In his own good time, God was pleased to create a race of human beings to inhabit this earth in a series of generations. Some of the conditions and limitations to which the life and the range of existence of these beings would necessarily be subjected, were fixed in the elementary constitution and arrangements of the scene of their abode. They are human beings, a race lower than the angels. They are spirits in bodies of clay, formed from the dust of the earth, breathed into by the breath of God. By the universal law of all elemental organizations, human bodies need renewal, are exposed to disease and accident, and subject to waste, decay, and death. These human

beings are moral beings. So far as they are accountable beings they are free, and so far as they are free beings they are accountable. That they may be free to do right, they must also be free to do wrong. Adam, the representative man, was capable of sinning, and as the extremest Calvinist never pretended that Adam was created with a depraved nature, the conclusion is irresistible that a human being may be capable of sinning, and may actually sin, without having any original taint of corruption or depravity. This inevitable inference visits an utter discomfiture on the Calvinistic dogma, that *our* sin can have no other origin or source than a vitiated nature. If Adam could commit actual sin, though he was not born in original sin, so may each one of his posterity err as he did without inheriting iniquity from him. The only idea which we can form of the purpose for which human beings exist, is that they may serve the ends of their Creator by the best use of the faculties he has given them. In connection with all the physical powers and relations of these beings, relations which concern the body and its wants, we think we discern an inner life, a nobler range of existence, in the elements of thought, of affection, of conscience, a life of the mind and the spirit, amid cares and conflicts, failures and attainments, lapses and recoveries. That this higher life may be served, good and evil must be placed before these human beings, while the command is addressed to them to "overcome evil with good." However far we may carry the assertion or the allowance of an unexceptionable and a universal human sinfulness, we must stop short of the admission that man is necessarily a sinner, for this admission at once severs the connection between sin and responsibility. This necessary sinfulness is admitted, if it be affirmed that man has a corrupted nature. An evil tree can bring forth only evil fruit. The decision as regards our moral character cannot be supposed to have been made at our birth, but the means, the materials for making it, must lie latent in the germ of humanity, and life will afford the opportunity and the scene of their development. We are not born holy, for then we should be what the angels now are, who are denizens of heaven while we are creatures of the earth. We are not born fiends, for we are made after the similitude of God.

As these beings must be capable of doing wrong in order that they may be able to do right, they should not be restrained physically or morally from feeling impulses to do wrong. They should be addressed by the power of outward temptations, and there should be internal weaknesses, spots on their breasts not defended by heavenly mail, — spots and weaknesses which temptation should assail. Righteousness, holiness, conformity to the will of God, is the highest possible result which we could look for to be attained by such beings, and we should never dream of realizing it as a birthright, nor as an instinct, nor as secured by an inward impulse, nor by outward help. It should be the result of life-long struggles and strivings, of falling and of rising often, of groanings and weepings, of aching and praying, of sinning and repenting. It is enough for man if he can die a reconciled penitent. It is enough for him if he can reach at the end of his course, after a life of blind and troubled wanderings, that same Father's house from which he went out as an infant and an embryo spirit.

Should any one object that it is not worthy of God to be charged with the creation of such a race of beings, we reply, that this is just the race of beings that inhabits this earth, and that the fact speaks for itself. Here they are, and they have never been anything different from what they are. At any rate, the sort of beings which we have aimed to portray from the reality of life are, in our judgment, infinitely more worthy of God than are those which Calvinism ascribes to him. Imperfect then we are; imperfect, frail, and mortal. Adam proved in his own case the result of the experiment made by God with the elements and conditions involved in the constitution of a human being. The result of the experiment in one case of course signified what would be its result in all cases. As Adam was a sinner and a mortal, so all human beings are sinners and all are mortal; *not because he was a sinner, but because they are all like him in their humanity.* But is this nature of ours *corrupt* and *depraved* because it is *imperfect*? Does the fact that we must all learn righteousness prove that we have previously graduated in iniquity? Does our imperfection prove that we are cursed, and does our being under that curse prove our guilt? Let us see.

There are four elements needed, as we say, to make up a human being, — a body, a heart, a mind, and a spirit. These are all undeveloped, untrained at our birth. How do we regard the infirmities, the imperfections, the need of discipline, help, and reinforcement to which they are respectively subject?

If a child is born with an inherited bodily defect, crippled, deformed, maimed, or blind, he is an object of our tender commiseration. Who ever blames him for his defect? Who would address to him a word of reproof, or inflict upon him a blow, as for sin? Even if his defect is entailed upon him for the sin of his parents, this is not his personal guilt, and though it subjects him to suffering, his suffering is not punishment. His visitation is directly from the hand of God.

If a child is born with a feeble intellectual faculty, and it is very hard to teach him, and teaching utterly fails through his dulness of mind, still there is no guilt in this, but simply an original natural deficiency.

If a child is lacking in affectionate sensibilities of heart, and shows from infancy an ungovernable temper, the parents will try patient culture to subdue and train the child's heart, and up to its mature years its faults are for the most part spoken of as constitutional infirmities, rarely as guilt, while its moderate success in self-restraint is estimated as a heroism in self-discipline.

Thus it is that we disconnect all natural defects of body, mind, and heart from the imputation of guilt. We do not expect a child to walk till it has *learned* to walk; nor to read till it has *learned* to read. We are satisfied always if a child learns anything after it has been taught, and the more valuable the art or science or knowledge which is communicated, the more content are we to multiply efforts, to extend patience, and to prolong time in imparting it, and in looking for the fruits of the instruction. But now mark the inconsistency of Orthodoxy as it deals with the fourth element in a human being, — the spirit. While the whole of life is allowed to be education and preparation in the training and use of all our lower faculties, the very dawn of life is expected to show a full-formed perfection in the exercise and manifestation of our highest faculty. Orthodoxy tolerates infants that cannot walk, or read, or love their

parents beyond others; but it will not tolerate an infant that does not love and obey God in perfect holiness of spirit. If the spirit of this little helpless being does not instinctively discern and follow the supreme good, and without any struggle, training, or conflict, any guidance or experience, yield itself to the love of piety, then Orthodoxy cries out, *A Fall, a Corruption, an Alienation* from God! Over the waste of dreary ages, and through the ashes of mortal generations, Orthodoxy tries to trace back the venom in that infant's constitution to the slime which the old serpent dropped from its mouth when it spake its deceiving word to Eve.

Dr. Woods puts to Dr. Ware this question: "Do children show a heart to love God supremely, when they are two or three years old?"* We may answer the question by asking another: Why should they? When it takes the highest spiritual exercises of an eminent saint to fashion forth an adequate conception of God, how can we expect a child two or three years old to love that God supremely?

It seems to us as if Orthodoxy involved not only the notion that Adam, not God, is the father of all human spirits, but likewise the implication that God has nothing to do in his usual providence with the training of any human spirits except those of the elect. Does not Orthodoxy convey the implication, that when human spirits are launched upon this earth, God, as a usual thing, has done with them? Now we regard the beings we have described from the realities of life as constantly dependent on the Divine guardianship and grace; as constantly needing new replenishments of spiritual power and aid; and as constantly receiving, or at liberty to avail themselves of, such help in their earthly training. We do not believe that we are all orphaned of heavenly affection and care the day after we are born, left as infants in a wilderness cast to the wolves. It is not our doctrine, that the influences of God's Spirit are granted to some and withheld from others. We believe that his Spirit is ever prompting and helping all spirits, and is rejected when not yielded to and accepted; that aid of the Spirit is not a specialty even, still less a partiality, any

* Reply, Chap. II.

more than is a parent's needful advice and oversight in the training of all his children ; that spiritual influence is the needful and the natural complement to the elements of our nature, and to the other influences which develop it.

We should need space exceeding that which we have already occupied, if we attempted to do anything like justice in stating the various modifications which have been introduced during the last century into the old Calvinistic doctrine of the corrupted and disabled nature and the doomed state of man. These modifications are designed to relieve and soften the doctrine, to make it less revolting, and, if possible, more reasonable. It is to be understood that these palliating devices are invented by men who still profess to hold substantially the doctrine of the Catechism and the Confession, and who claim a right to avail themselves of the utmost liberty of explanation and abatement. When we contemplate as a whole the subtleties, the worse than dubious ingenuities, and the self-convicted duplicity in evasion, which have been spent upon this Calvinistic doctrine by some of its nominal disciples, a rising disgust for everything associated with this department of our theological literature nearly overwhelms us. There is but one suggestion that relieves our feelings ; it is, that all these efforts are made out of a tender desire to reconcile the God of the creed with the God of the heart. It is not strange, however, that Unitarians should watch with a very lively interest, and occasionally with a sort of subdued and mischievous satisfaction, the processes and the results of these modifications of Calvinism. The disciples of that system must have become fully aware that it is a venturous and a hazardous work to attempt to bring its dogmas into reconciliation with right reason.

There are three elements entering into the doctrine of the entail from Adam upon all his posterity of a disabled nature, and they suggest three questions : First, is this disability of nature a fact ? Second, is it to be regarded as constituting, in the eye of God, personal guilt ? Third, does it involve an everlasting and inexpressible penalty ? Of course a very large range is opened for pleading and for modifying opinions in the discussion of these three elements of the old doctrine. Doctor Chauncy, who

held the Calvinistic views in the most moderate form, if he held them at all, took refuge in Universalism, as did the late amiable and earnest John Foster, of whose orthodoxy there is no question.

Down almost to the time of the commencement of our great controversy, the general teaching of Orthodoxy conformed to the doctrine of the Confession, that a corrupted nature, a vitiated and depraved constitution, was transmitted from Adam to all his posterity, by natural descent, exactly as a bodily disease, a gout or a consumption, would be transmitted. This certainly implies a physical inheritance of depravity, a depravity running in the blood; and this legitimate inference from the doctrine was universally drawn from it, and universally accepted. It was at this point that the shock of the doctrine was first and most strongly felt, and here an issue had been opened between Orthodox theologians before Unitarians were a recognized party in the case. Dr. Lyman Beecher has given us a very concise summary of the matter in hand, in substance as follows.* He reminds us that Pelagius maintained that infants were born pure, and became depraved by a corrupted moral atmosphere and by bad example, while he denied that there is any certain connection between the sin of Adam and that of his posterity. Augustine, on the other hand, asserted an innate, hereditary depravity, by the imputation of Adam's sin. Dr. Beecher adds, that the Reformers agreed with Augustine in the belief that sin was propagated with flesh and blood. Certainly one would think that, after this admission, it was no Unitarian slander to charge this doctrine upon those whose boast it was that they held to "the doctrines of the Reformation." This doctrine was first openly assailed after the Reformation, says Dr. Beecher, by the Arminians and the Remonstrants, and was one of the Five Points under sharp debate in the Synod of Dort. The Pelagian doctrine, having been revived at the Synod, has found acceptance and prevalence in the Established Church of England, while "our fathers," down to the time of Edwards, and including him, held close to the views of the Reformers. After the time of Edwards, Dr.

* Spirit of the Pilgrims, Vol. I. p. 158.

Beecher proceeds to tell us, the way of stating the doctrine was changed. "Now, the New or Hopkinsian divinity holds that men are not guilty of Adam's sin, and that depravity is not of the substance of the soul, nor an inherent or physical quality, but is wholly voluntary, and consists in the transgression of law, in such circumstances as constitutes accountability and desert of punishment." Our readers will observe that, while the old doctrine has a meaning perfectly lucid, which explains itself to us at a glance, the modifications of it are for the most part stated in a cloudy, obscure, unintelligible way, as if their vagueness and indefiniteness of terms would afford a sensible relief. Dr. Beecher, if hard pressed in close conversation by a clear-headed questioner, would have to admit that "the transgression of law," and the "circumstances," of which he speaks, involve the original elements of the nature which an infant receives from the Creator on being born into this world.

In the first number of the periodical just quoted, we find the Orthodox belief on this doctrine stated thus: "That since the Fall of Adam, men are, in their natural state, altogether destitute of true holiness, and entirely depraved. That men, though thus depraved, are justly required to love God with all the heart, and justly punishable for disobedience; or, in other words, they are complete moral agents, proper subjects of moral government, and truly accountable to God for their actions."* One year passed, and then the same periodical announced the following: "We do not believe that the posterity of Adam are personally chargeable with eating the forbidden fruit [that is, they did not bite the same apple]; or that their constitution is so depraved as to leave them no natural ability to love and serve God, or as to render it improper for him to require obedience."† Again is the scale of modifications a scale of unintelligibilities. How plain, as well as strong in contrast, is the language of President Edwards, when he tells us: "All natural men's affections are governed by malice against God, and they hate him worse than they do the Devil." Considering that these natural affections have their source in the heart, and that the heart is the endowment which

* *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, Vol. I. p. 11.† *Ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 4.

we receive from God, the inference from the assertion is unavoidable, unless we again have recourse to the notion that Adam, and not God, is our Creator.

Yet, strange to say, there has been a dispute among the Orthodox as to whether Edwards did or did not teach the doctrine of the physical entail of depravity! Strange to say, he has been claimed as an authority, both by those who believe the old doctrine in this form, and by those who deny it. Any unprofessional reader who should attempt to peruse the discussion of this question, Did Edwards, or did he not, teach that human nature was constitutionally depraved by physical entail? would be apt to give over the task with a rather hopeless idea of the lucidness of some doctors of divinity.

The Orthodox Congregationalists around us have agreed upon some terms of amity touching their differences of Old School and New School, as to the matter of Original Sin, and the essential quality of our depravity. But the Presbyterians, who build upon the Westminster Catechism, and mean to stand or to fall with that, are by no means inclined to pacification on this issue. There has been a fierce strife carried on under the blinding cloud of dust raised by the fraternal quarrel of the Old and the New Schools, as to whether man's *Inability* to meet the requirements of God's law is a *Natural* Inability, or a *Moral* Inability. The Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely, in his "Contrast between Calvinism and Hopkinsianism," (published in 1811,) has given us a sharp rehearsal of the controversy, as between the real Orthodoxy of our Middle States and the diluted Orthodoxy of New England. But to us this question between the two Schools is not even a war of words; for the word *Inability*, the only emphatic and decisive word involved in their doctrine, is a word accepted and used on both sides. All in vain does Dr. Woods tell us that *Moral Inability*, in which he believes, means only "a strong disinclination" to do the will of God, and that "it constitutes blameworthiness," — "while *Natural Inability*," in which he does not believe, "*frees* from blameworthiness."* For he also tells us, in his Fifth Letter to us, "that men are subjects of an innate moral depravity, in other words,

* Works, Vol. IV. p. 285.

that they are from the first inclined to evil." *From the first!*—the whole doctrine goes with those words. The force, the stress, the strain of the doctrine, lies in the word *Inability*,—that noun substantive which tells the effect of a death-blow struck at the very core of our being. It makes very little difference whether we connect with that substantive the epithet *Natural* or *Moral*, for the adjective seems in this instance almost to lose the office assigned to it in the grammar, of *qualifying* a noun. Yet the two epithets make two schools. How significant is the token that a hair's breadth of relief, or of supposed relief, by vagueness of words, under the old doctrine, is welcomed as a blessing. One School tells us man's depravity consists in this: "He *cannot* do right if he wishes to do so." "No," says the other School; "it consists in this: He *will not* do right if he can." *He can't if he will!*—*He won't if he can!* A precious difference!. It is well for the two Schools that they have both retained the word *Inability*. Their Orthodoxy is safe so long as they hold to that, but their *loyalty* to Orthodoxy is doubtful if they are bent on neutralizing the substantive by any adjective. There certainly is a real difference between a lack of *power*, and a lack of the *will* to do one's duty; but if the lack of *will* springs from a lack of *power to will*, or of a capacity of being influenced by the will otherwise than to disobedience, a moral want of will becomes essentially a natural want of power.

Then there is what may be called "the Privative Theory" of our depravity. Some Orthodox men have found an appreciable degree of comfort in this theory. It suggests, that, besides having all the faculties and opportunities which we have for meeting our responsibility to God, Adam was favored with a peculiar spiritual guardianship, an additional inducement and protection from a closer intercourse with the grace of God, which additional security has been withdrawn from all his posterity, leaving them, under the *privation* of divine grace, to the common influences and circumstances of our appointed state of being. Well may we ask: If Adam, with such an additional security, could not retain his innocence, is our condition fairly allotted to us, when it visits upon us the inheritance of his depravity, and *deprives* us of his original aid from the Divine Father?

Still another modification of the old doctrine is proposed in the theory, that we are not at our birth positively and actually sinful, but are simply *destitute of holiness*. An infant is destitute of holiness! Very true. So he is. And so he is destitute of arithmetic and spelling. But this does not prove that he is ruined, nor that he will go to the pit. It certainly does not prove that he deserves to go to the pit, for a natural lack of the knowledge or the attainments for the purpose of acquiring which he is brought into this world as a school. As well might we complain of an oak for not bearing full-grown trees instead of little acorns.

The most recent and every way the most astonishing device that has been suggested by one professing to hold the old Orthodox doctrine, for the sake of abating its manifest inconsistency with the righteous method of government established by God, is that proposed by Dr. Edward Beecher, in his marvellously significant book entitled "The Conflict of Ages." He admits, he asserts, he strenuously and emphatically protests against, the conflicting relation which Orthodoxy presents to us between what God requires of us and the nature and opportunity which we have for meeting his demands. God calls us into being with a depraved nature, exposes us to the corrupting influences of a fallen world, and subjects us to the assaults of evil spirits, and then holds over us a law of holiness which we are incapacitated from obeying, while any falling short of it condemns us to an unending woe. No Unitarian pen has ever made a more painful or a more appalling statement of the irreconcilable conflict between Orthodox doctrine and the laws of honor and justice ascribed to the Divine government, than the pen of Dr. Beecher has written out with a most heroic sturdiness of candor. His conclusion is, that, according to the Orthodox doctrine, God has not dealt fairly with us, but is practising toward us a tyranny of the most ruthless sort. God has not given us a fair start, an unprejudiced, free, and hopeful trial for an immortal issue. If God has appointed our earthly existence as a probation for eternal life, he should have created us with an integrity of nature and a healthfulness of soul which would have excluded every sinful proclivity or bias; indeed, we might even claim that we should have been

biased in the direction of holiness. Orthodoxy says we are not born in this state of innocence. Dr. Beecher says the same, and he says it with an unquestioned loyalty to the creed in conformity with which he discharges his office of a Christian minister. How then does he reconcile the "Conflict" which he has so nobly and so faithfully delineated? Why thus. He says that we *once* had a fair and unprejudiced start in the unending career of existence;—not indeed here, in this world, but elsewhere. We were not *created* when we were born into this world. We had been created and had existed in another place, and in another state, as spirits, and had sinned, and fallen, and been condemned. God is giving us here a new trial under the light of the Gospel. Reserved in some of the gloomy caverns of sentenced guilt and hopeless despair in this universe, are imprisoned the rebel crew of angels who sided with Satan in the great rebellion in heaven. When an infant body is born into this world, God looses from the chains of that prison-house one of these condemned spirits, with the chance of being numbered among the elect as one whom the Gospel of Christ may redeem. Behold how wonderfully this solution of the problem converts the darkest imputation ever cast upon the righteous government of God into a most winning display of his grace, in offering a new opportunity to beings already condemned! Calvinism requires of beings created as sinners that they should live as angels. Dr. Beecher sees the countenance of an old fiend under the sweet features of infancy, and takes the fair mask as the symbol of a redemption which, by the grace of God through Jesus Christ, shall recall that victim of the pit to the communion of the saints above. Such is the latest modification of Calvinism.

We have thus given — at a tedious, though a necessary length — a statement of the controversy opened fifty years ago, and ever since kept open, between Unitarianism and Orthodoxy, on the Scripture doctrine of the Nature and the State of Man. We have stated the Calvinistic doctrine in the words of the old formula, which is even to this day nominally held in Orthodox churches and schools of theology. We have avowed the positive denial of that doctrine, and of every accepted modification of it, by Unitarianism, and have presented the general

views which Unitarians in the lack of a dogma adopt as a substitute for that doctrine. There is a vast difference between falling *from* and falling *short of* holiness. We deny that there has ever been on this earth a *fall* of a single human being *from holiness*, and assert the fact that all human beings *fall short of holiness*. Finally, we have made a brief reference to some of the modifying and qualifying theories which Orthodox writers have invented to relieve the strain of their own doctrine.

And now comes a question which embraces two terms, as it concerns the present bearings and aspect of this controversy to the original parties to it: Is Unitarianism yielding its opinion, reconciling its difference, abating its opposition, and going over to Orthodoxy, on the ground covered by this doctrine? We answer positively, No! Unitarianism does not yield an inch. It holds its ground firmly and resolutely, and means to hold it. It was never better assured of its position than now.

Is Orthodoxy yielding its ground on this doctrine? Our readers shall answer that question for themselves.

In the mean while, how shall the two parties to an old strife regard their present relations to each other, in view of their fundamental variance concerning this one doctrine involved in the dark mystery of sin? Let us cease from all acrimony and strife, and try together to throw what light we can upon the problem. A truer philosophy of life and of man may help us. A better understanding of the Scriptures may aid us. But after all, Unitarians and Orthodox will be most likely to throw light on this sad mystery of sin, when with Christian hearts and hands they strive faithfully, in their own way, to rid themselves and the world of its malignant power.

G. E. E.

ART. IV. — POETRY.

CHRIST IN THE FLESH.

IN every life Christ comes again to earth,
Takes on him our humanity once more,
Renews the heavenly in the earthly birth,
And bears again the cross that once he bore.

Cradled in palace, or in manger laid,
Christ in the infant's innocence appears ;
God's morning star lighting e'en sin's dark shade,
Earth's weeping way, its conflicts and its tears.

In every soul by deep compassion moved,
Christ walks again among the humble poor ;
And in the "fleshy robe" shall still be loved,
While human woe and sympathy endure.

Christ's voice is heard in every kindly tone,
That seeks t' ennoble man, or comfort grief ;
And he is seen where Mercy strives alone
(Though weak and poor) to minister relief.

Christ bids the Tempter *now* behind him get,
Where firm Integrity unwavering stands,
And unfair schemes of gain with scorn are met,
And the Soul flingeth back sin's base demands !

O, not upon the dim cathedral's wall
Hangeth the Christ, whom we may love, adore ;
Nor may his pictured woe alone recall
The deep, deep agony for man he bore !

Christ knocketh now at every human heart,
As at the sisters' door in Bethany ;
Like Martha, we neglect the better part,
Turn from our Guest to earthly cares away.

L. L. A. V.

THE DISCOVERY.

LIKE one who wanders sad and solitary,
In lonesome woods, unguided and astray,
The sport of hopes that every moment vary,
And bird-like voices calling every way,
And comes at last upon a little clearing, —
A sweet thought in the heart of solitude, —
And hails with joy the beautiful appearing
Of azure sky and sun above the wood ; —

Like such a one I roved, in manhood's morning,
Perplexed and lost, not knowing where to turn ;
The voice of hope was saddened into warning,
Nor any certain path could eye discern.
At length a thought was born within my bosom,
A ray of light fell on me from afar,
And straight the folded bud began to blossom,
The nebula to round into a star.

And now before me shines, in white and crimson,
The flower of life that was a bud so long ;
The sun, the king of stars, the sky he swims on,
And all great things, are bursting into song :
" O happy rover, that hast found thy duty !
O happy soul ! if thou hast come to see
The perfect law of Goodness, Truth, and Beauty,
Nature's one secret, — not to do, but *be* ! "

E. J. C.

ART. V.—BROOKS'S HISTORY OF MEDFORD.*

It was the great object of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in its early institution, to collect and preserve materials for American history, and more particularly the history of our own Commonwealth. In pursuance of this object, the Society encouraged the preparation of sketches of towns, and readily assigned them a place in its printed collections. The early efforts were humble; a few pages sufficed for the history of a town, because the subject was not valued to any extent by the general mind; indeed, a taste for the requisite investigations was to be created. Even our educated men, as a class, were incurious touching the annals of our own country, and its local municipalities;—perhaps rather commending themselves for their neglect,—while they would have been ashamed to be counted ignorant of the history of ancient and modern Europe. Hence meagre narrative satisfied the limited demand, and the town chronicler was generally looked upon with compassion,—if perchance he escaped contempt,—as a very harmless and useless being.

But now all this is changed; with the general growth with the growth of our towns, the importance of preserving in memory the substantial elements of their early condition and subsequent progress, which, in the aggregate, make up the grand characteristics of our people, is become well understood. Thus we have seen in recent times elaborate local histories, worthy of their English types, and more worthy than they, as leading to greater results. And the cry is, Still they come; and they will continue to come, a swelling host, until scarcely a town in New England will be without its historian. Shattuck's Concord, Deane's Scituate, Lincoln's Worcester, Felt's Salem and Ipswich, William Barry's Framingham, J. S. Barry's Hanover, and other commendable works, have led the way, and now, marching with them in the van, we have a goodly volume, the history of the ancient, respectable, and pleasant town of

* *History of the Town of Medford, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, from its First Settlement in 1630, to the Present Time, 1855.* By CHARLES BROOKS. Boston: Published by James M. Usher. 1855. pp. 576.

Medford, given to the public by the Rev. Charles Brooks, a worthy native of that town, from materials gathered on every side with the painstaking industry to which all must submit who *aspire* to produce a good work of this class. He comes to his task with well-disciplined forces, with the loving interest of one to the manor born, and well charged with praiseworthy antiquarian zeal.

There are two ways of weaving town histories,—the one by arranging a mere tissue of facts and dates, the other by incorporating in the fabric whatever else may give life and beauty, as well as truth and strength, producing the harmonious character and coloring of well-reasoned, elaborate works. Mr. Brooks has wisely chosen the latter course, and for reasons which he well states in his Preface. He would not, nor would we, willingly permit these comparatively humble narratives to be held in little regard; for they contain all the germs of general history in the civil and social condition of the people.

Medford is one of our oldest towns in its municipal organization. Its beginnings, however, were more feeble than those of the other contemporaneous plantations,—and this not because it was settled by *mean men*,—to use Governor Winthrop's expression in another instance, but because its territory was very small, and out of this small territory the Court had carved out numerous acres as a grant to Cradock, a non-resident proprietor, contrary to the early, well-settled, and wise policy of New England. Hence the growth in population and general productive industry was so slow, that there was no settled minister in the town until after the Province Charter of 1691.

The worthy Governor Cradock, who devoted so much time, and expended so much of his estate, in promoting the settlement of the Bay, never visited the Colony, though he continued his interest in its behalf, and sent over his agent and a large number of servants to occupy his grant and engage in ship-building, a branch of business that has ever since been a large source of the prosperity and wealth of Medford.

There is an old building still standing, called the "Fort" and the "Garrison House," which Mr. Brooks gives good reasons for believing was built by Cradock in

1634, and designed for his residence should he visit the plantation. We may venture to affirm that there was no planter in the hamlet of Medford, at that time, competent in estate to erect a dwelling-house of this size. Log-houses with thatched roofs sufficed for their shelter and satisfied their wants while engaged in clearing their lands and bringing them into cultivation.

The Cradock House, says the author, "is on land slightly elevated, where no higher land or rocks could be used by enemies to assail it, and is so near the river as to allow of reinforcements from Boston. Its walls are eighteen inches thick. There were heavy iron bars across the two large arched windows, which are near the ground, in the back of the house; and there are several fire-proof closets within the building. The house stood in an open field for a century and a half, and could be approached only by a private road through gates. As the outside door was cased with iron, it is certain that it was intended to be fire-proof. There was one pane of glass, set in iron, placed in the back wall of the western chimney, so as to afford a sight of persons coming from the town.

"It was probably built for retreat and defence; but some of the reasons for calling it a fort are not conclusive. Outside shutters were in common use in England at the time above mentioned; and so was it common to ornament houses with round or oval openings on each side of the front. These ovals are twenty inches by sixteen. . . . The bricks are not English bricks, either in size, color, or workmanship. They are from eight to eight and a half inches long, from four to four and a quarter inches wide, and from two and a quarter to two and three quarters thick. They have the color of the bricks made afterwards in East Medford. . . . There is a tradition, that in early times Indians were discovered lurking around it for several days and nights, and that a skirmish took place between them and the white men; but we have not been able to verify the facts or fix the date. The park impaled by Mr. Cradock probably included this house. It is undoubtedly one of the oldest buildings in the United States; perhaps *the oldest that retains its first form*. It has always been in use, and, by some of its tenants, has not been honored for its age. Its walls are yet strong, and we hope it may be allowed to stand for a century to come. We wish some rich antiquarian would purchase it, restore to it its ancient appendages, and make it a depository for Medford antiquities, for an historical library, and a museum of natural curiosities." — pp. 46, 47.

At Cradock's expense chiefly the bridge was built

which spans the river running between the villages on either side, and was the first toll-bridge in the country, and of large benefit in causing the town to be the great thoroughfare of travel to and from the East. The inhabitants felt the benefit, and magnified it so much that even more than a century afterwards, when it was proposed to build a bridge at Penny Ferry,—the present Malden Bridge,—the whole sovereignty of Medford became violently excited, and resisted the project to the utmost. The old cry of impending destruction was raised, and the people refused to be comforted. This was in the day of Rev. Dr. Osgood, who entered with all his zeal—and that was no trifling element in his composition—into the feelings and apprehensions of his people. He wrote a long, indignant, and characteristic letter upon the subject, in which he expresses his fears for “the destruction of Medford,” and is severe, even up to *his* full measure of severity, upon the worthy Judge Russell of Charlestown, the projector of Charles River Bridge.*

The inhabitants always remained at peace with the remnants of the Indian tribes in their neighborhood, though at times, and probably owing to their own feeble and sparse population, they were so far apprehensive of hostility as to erect fortified houses,—two of which are still standing, one of them, before referred to, supposed to have been built by Cradock.

The principal divisions of the book are into civil, political, military, and ecclesiastical history. All these enter into the fundamental constitution of Massachusetts towns, and make them in truth so many little republics, with large and well-defined duties, so that out of them, and generated by them, more than from all else, have grown up the education, intelligence, and true social equality which are distinguishing characteristics in our Commonwealth. History affords no such precise examples. There was no power so minute, none so wide and extended in church or state, that did not enter either directly or indirectly into the constitution, and come under the cognizance, of these municipal corporations.

* Pages 70, 71.

Though Medford was of slow growth in its earlier period, its growth was healthy, and it has always been a quiet, well-ordered town. Its population, like that of the other Massachusetts settlements, was homogeneous from the beginning until within a few years; and having a Puritan basis and increase, it of course possessed all the elements of material, intellectual, and religious prosperity. All this Mr. Brooks has well and briefly described; and has further delineated in the lives of Governor Brooks, Dr. Tufts, and many others in civil life, and in an extended notice of the worthy and useful citizen, Colonel Royall, who, however brave he may have been, answering to his military title, proved very timid at the beginning of the Revolution, and, after halting for a while between two opinions, finally abandoned the country that he might have peace in the decline of life. Far from being an out and out Tory, he was kindly affected towards his country, and proved himself a friend to our institutions, even *flagrante bello*, by establishing a professor's chair at Cambridge, which has been worthily filled by a succession of distinguished jurists.

The political history of Medford possesses but little of moment until we approach the period of the Revolution. At this time a strong interest gathers around it, and a unanimity of patriotic sentiment pervades it, not exceeded by that of any other town in the Province. The Resolves were brave in expression, and, what is better, were fearlessly carried out in action. Colonel Royall seems to have been the only one of *mixed* sentiments, — the result in his case of position, association, and other circumstances, combined with an unwarlike temperament.

The military department exhibits a clean and bright record. Training to arms was an early necessity forced upon the colonists by their peculiar condition in relation to the Indian tribes, and afterwards by apprehensions from the French, and so continuing on until the close of the Revolutionary contest. In the first period, while early and riper manhood was included in the train-bands, the Colony laws required that lads from ten to sixteen years of age should be instructed on the usual training-days, of which, by the way, there were eight in each year, "in the exercise of arms." Thus it was that prep-

aration was made in each generation for the final contest that should insure either entire independence, or humiliating subjugation. Medford furnished her full supply of men and means for the great struggle, and this she seems to have done with great promptness and unanimity. She furnished gallant officers, among whom we would name Captain Thomas Pritchard, Colonel Ebenezer Francis, fearless and intelligent officers, and John Brooks, successively Major, Colonel, and General, the friend of Washington, thoroughly tried as a soldier and patriot, from the day of the Lexington and Concord fight, through sundry well-fought battles during the war, — afterwards the excellent Governor of our good old Commonwealth for seven successive years, — who gave two beloved sons to the service of his country, in the war of 1812, and, whether in public or private life, exhibited all those traits of character which mark the gentleman, the patriot, and the Christian.

The author gives an instance of Pritchard's daring and presence of mind, which occurred in the fall of 1776, soon after Howe had taken possession of New York.

“ One day he had been making explorations with his company, when he came unexpectedly among a large force of British cavalry in a road. The English commander cried out to him, ‘ Well, Pritchard, we’ve got you at last.’ ‘ Not exactly,’ replied Pritchard ; and he immediately ordered his men to form across the road, and to prepare for a charge. The cavalry stopped. The wind was favorable to carry the smoke of Pritchard’s fire directly among the enemy. The English commander felt that there must be great loss to him if he should open a fire, owing to the narrow defile and the adverse wind. He therefore stood still. To retreat, and also to gain time, was Pritchard’s policy ; and he accomplished it thus. He walked behind his men, and touched every other one in the whole line, and then ordered those that he had touched to retreat backwards twenty steps. They did so, and there halted. This position kept each of his men in a fit order to fire or to charge, as might be necessary. As soon as this half had halted, he ordered the remaining half to retreat slowly in the same way ; to pass through the line, and retreat twenty steps behind the front rank. They did so successfully. The cavalry rushed forward, but did not fire. Pritchard’s men understood the movement, and were not terrified at superior numbers. They continued to retreat in this unassailable and American fashion for nearly an hour, when the narrow

road ended in a broken, rocky pasture. Now their destruction seemed certain. Captain Pritchard saw near him a ledge of rocks and a narrow pass. He resolved to get there if he could. But how could it be done? The enemy had now come out, and nearly surrounded him. He formed his men into a hollow square, and ordered them to retreat sideways towards that narrow pass. They did so, each keeping his place, and presenting his bayonet to the foe. They reached the rock; and there they must stop. With their backs to the precipice, and their face to the enemy, they must now surrender or die. They had resolved to try the chances of battle. The British had now come round them in such overwhelming numbers, that they felt desperate. Just as the British officer had ordered them to surrender, a detachment of American troops came suddenly upon them. The cavalry saw they themselves must be taken; and they turned and fled.

“Major Brooks narrated to General Washington every particular of this victorious stratagem; and Washington said, ‘There is nothing in our military history yet that surpasses the ingenuity and fortitude of that manœuvre.’” — pp. 193, 194.

We will not say that this anecdote wears the appearance of romance, for the Revolution witnessed many marvellous exploits; but we are glad that it is vouched by Major Brooks, in commendation of one of his own townsmen.

Of Colonel Francis, a native of Medford, and after 1766 an inhabitant of Beverly, we are told that he

“was commissioned as Captain by the Continental Congress, July 1, 1775; next year rose to the rank of Colonel, and commanded a regiment on Dorchester Heights from August to December, 1776. Authorized by Congress, he raised the eleventh Massachusetts regiment, and, in January, 1777, marched at the head of it to Ticonderoga. Monday, July 7, 1777, a skirmish took place between the eleventh Massachusetts regiment and the British, at Hubbardton, near Whitehall, N. Y., in which Colonel Francis fell. A private journal of Captain Greenleaf, now in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, says: ‘Colonel Francis first received a ball through his right arm; but still continued at the head of his troops till he received the fatal wound through his body, entering his right breast. He dropped on his face.’ His chaplain says: ‘No officer so noticed for his military accomplishments and regular life as he. His conduct in the field is spoken of in the highest terms of applause.’” — p. 195.

“John Francis, a brother of the Colonel, born in Medford, Sept. 28, 1753, was Adjutant in the regiment commanded by

his brother, and fought bravely at Hubbardton. He was in several battles during the six years of his service, and at the capture of Burgoyne was wounded." — p. 196.

"Another gallant action by a Medford Sergeant, in the heat of the battle at White Plain, deserves a special record. Francis Tufts saw the standard-bearer fall: he flew to the spot, seized the standard, lifted it in the air, and rushed to the front rank of the line, and there marched forward, calling upon the men to follow. This was seen by General Washington. As soon as the victory was won, the General asked Colonel Brooks the name of the young man, in his regiment, who achieved that noble act. He was told; and there, on the stump of a tree, the General immediately wrote his commission of Adjutant." — p. 196.

Medford's ecclesiastical experiences resemble those of other New England towns, — less contentious, perhaps, in some respects, but giving out the usual indications, in strife touching the *locus in quo* of church buildings, and measurably as to doctrines, but finally settling down into a quiet condition until the rending of the Congregational denomination, — the result of the sharp controversy first systematically started within the present century.

The earliest settled minister, Rev. Aaron Porter, passed the time of his sojourning in Medford in great quiet, and was well and justly beloved by his people. He rested from his labors among them but with his life. The most important theological matter with which we are made acquainted concerning his ministry is the adoption by his church of the *half-way covenant*, — a covenant which was warmly resisted by many, both of the clergy and people, when originally proposed, and which many of the Orthodox clergy of the present day consider as the first great defection from the doctrine and practice of the early New England Church.

Then came the Rev. Ebenezer Turell, a more distinguished man, with a longer term of ministerial labor, inclined to the old order of the churches, and sternly opposing the burning zeal of Whitefield.

"He published, 1742, a pamphlet called 'A Direction to my People in Relation to the Present Times.' In this book, he calls on his people to distinguish between the fervors of their excited imaginations and the still, small voice of God's effectual grace; he also cautions them against believing in multitudinous meetings as the best places for true gospel learning and Christian piety; he furthermore suggests the expediency of not narrating their

religious experiences, for fear that spiritual pride will take the place of humility; he openly blames those preachers who travel about, and, without being asked, go and act the bishop in other men's dioceses. In this pamphlet, Mr. Turell names 'thirteen particulars'; or, in other words, objections to the 'new-light movement.' The censorious spirit; the representing assurance to be the essence of saving faith, and that, without this assurance, none should come to the Lord's table; the false witness of the Spirit; the insecurity of dreams, spiritual visions, and impulses; preaching without study; esteeming unconverted ministers as useless; the preaching and praying of women in public; the want of decent order in public worship; the over-estimate of sudden light and comfort in the soul; and the singing of unauthorized hymns in unauthorized places, — all these are spoken of as objectionable features in the Whitefield regenerating processes. Mr. Turell expresses an ardent zeal in every true work of God's Spirit, and as jealous a caution against every counterfeit work. It is very clear that the revival times woke up the slumbering energies of the Medford preacher, and caused him to think and write and preach and print better than he had ever done before." — pp. 226, 227.

At this time parties were sharply arrayed against each other, in the Church militant, while neutrals found no peace. The bitter spirit excited by the advent of Whitefield, and continued by his disciples, would have effectually sundered the Congregational Church, had not the current been changed by the preparations for the Revolutionary contest, which, in turn, absorbed all thought and attention. Turell's pamphlet gave rise to a controversy with Mr. Crosswell and others, which seems to have ended pretty much like other controversies, — each party retiring from the field claiming the laurels of victory.

It is a great history, — that of the Congregational Church, in its various relations and bearings, from the first settlement of the country, when *the Church* was the great power, down to the present time, retaining as it does a large, though divided influence. But where shall the writer be found? Competent ability abounds, but where is the wise, far-reaching, prudent, impartial man, — rising above sect and party, — whose treatment of the subject and whose deductions would command the general assent?

Mr. Turell possessed good gifts and graces as a Christian and scholar, and was united to a wife, the daughter

of the Rev. Mr. Colman, widely and well known for her lovely religious character, and literary training and intellectual accomplishments far beyond the female standard of that day. The story of her brief sojourn upon earth is affectionately told by her father, in two sermons preached at Medford, April 6, 1735, and in the memoir written by her husband. She was remarkable for early development.

“ ‘Before her second year was completed,’ says her father, ‘she could speak distinctly, knew her letters, and could relate many stories out of the Scriptures to the satisfaction and pleasure of the most judicious. I have heard that Governor Dudley, with other wise and polite gentlemen, have placed her on a table, and, sitting around it, owned themselves diverted with her stories. Before she was four years old (so strong and tenacious was her memory) she could say the greater part of the Assembly’s Catechism, many of the Psalms, some hundred lines of the best poetry, read distinctly, and make pertinent remarks on many things she read.’

“ ‘Her father devoted himself to her education. She inherited a poetic talent; and some verses written by her, in the beginning of her eleventh year, show its cultivation. In her youthful diary we find the following:—

“ ‘1. Thank God for my immortal soul, and that reason and understanding which distinguish me from the lower creation.

“ ‘2. For my birth in a Christian country, in a land of light, where the true God and Jesus Christ are known.

“ ‘3. For pious and honorable parents, whereby I am favored beyond many others.

“ ‘4. For faithful and godly ministers, who are from time to time showing me the way of salvation.

“ ‘5. For a polite as well as Christian education.

“ ‘6. For restraining grace, that I have been withheld from more open and gross violations of God’s holy laws.’

“ Before her marriage, she laid down the following rules:—

“ ‘1. I will admit the addresses of no person who is not descended of pious and creditable parents.

“ ‘2. Who has not the character of a strict moralist,—sober, temperate, just, and honest.

“ ‘3. Diligent in his business, and prudent in matters.

“ ‘4. Fixed in his religion, a constant attender on the public worship, and who appears not in God’s house with the gravity becoming a Christian.

“ ‘5. Of a sweet and agreeable temper; for if he be owner of all the former good qualifications, and fails here, my life will be still uncomfortable.’

"These rules governed her in her choice. She had that elasticity of mind and buoyancy of heart which belonged to her nervous, bilious temperament. Capable of the tenderest emotion, and being a ready lover of beauty and virtue, it was not strange that she should be interested in a young gentleman whom she had seen so much at her father's house, and whom that father had taught her to respect. . . . Mr. Turell was not so much surprised as delighted to receive the following anonymous letter : —

" 'Sir, — You are to me the most agreeable person in the world ; and I should think myself very happy if Providence should order it as I desire ; but, sir, I must conceal my name, fearing you should expose me ; and if you do not incline to find me out, I must submit to my hard fate ; but if you comply with my desire, I am your obliged friend.'

" 'Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.' Love's polarity in this letter-missive was not to be mistaken ; and the consequence of it was the marriage above recorded ; and a happy marriage it was. She loved to love

"It was her custom, after her marriage, to study and write. She made poetry her recreation. Her husband says of her : 'What greatly contributed to increase her knowledge in divinity, history, physic, controversy, as well as poetry, was her attentive hearing most that I read upon those heads through the long evenings of the winters as we sat together.'

"Her letters to her father were full of that sweet, filial reverence which ancient manners promoted more than modern. She sends him a pressing invitation, in verse, to visit her in the happy manse at Medford. Her residence then was on the spot now occupied by the house of Misses Elizabeth and Lucy Ann Brooks, — the spot on which this History has been written. In imitation of Horace, she recounts the reasons for his coming." — pp. 319 – 321.

The womanly advice which, at the age of twenty, she gave to her younger sister, will bear quoting : —

"You have now just passed your childhood, and are arrived at that stage of life which is most exposed to snares and temptations. Put away all childish things. Behave yourself womanly and like a Christian to all with whom you converse. Indulge not a passionate or fretful temper, much less a haughty or insulting carriage, towards the meanest servant in the family. Be obliging, and modest, and humble ; so shall you deserve and have the esteem of everybody. Be thankful to, and pray for, them that are so kind as to admonish you. *Be contented.* Wish not yourself in another's place, or that you had another's liberty." — p. 322.

Her temper was lovely, her faith enlightened and sincere, and all her religious and intellectual accomplishments were heightened by unusual personal grace and beauty.

She possessed a strong taste for poetry. Her own versification was easy and flowing, and much in advance of the New England standard of that day, in pleasant description and occasional pathos.

"There was in her a childlike transparency of soul, and a deep well of love, which made her the admiration and blessing of all with whom she lived. She was a model wife for a minister, as he was a model husband; and the tribute he has left to her affection, usefulness, and piety, is alike honorable to both.

"The death of Mrs. Turell brought deep and lasting sorrow to the heart of her aged father. . . . In speaking of the two sermons preached after her death, he says: 'I now make the dedication of both, — first to the beloved children of my own flock and town; and *then* to the beloved people of Medford, to whom I gave away no small part of the light of my eyes in the day I married her to their pastor.' " — p. 324.

Though many generations have appeared and vanished since the death of Mrs. Turell, the fragrance of her many virtues and accomplishments has not died away. She forms an interesting portion of Mr. Brooks's book.

He has spoken very justly of Rev. Dr. Osgood, that wise patriarch among the churches, and given a discriminating view of his character. Dr. Osgood was a man of marked qualities. There was nothing neutral about him. He will be long remembered in the Congregational Church as a positive quantity, and very honorably remembered, among other things, for his firm resistance to the spirit of inquisition sometimes manifested by Ordaining Councils. He will be remembered, too, for many years, in the numerous unwritten anecdotes connected with his social life and public ministry.

In the matter of creeds, those human contrivances to keep souls *in arcta custodia*, we have been struck, in looking into the history of the Congregational Church, to find how much more liberal they were in the early day than the creeds which were afterwards adopted. Perhaps it may be that at first, as there was great unity in faith or doctrine, it was not necessary to elaborate a creed in much detail; but we are far more inclined to

think that the old independent Puritan spirit of the first century would not brook binding men's consciences in such strict measure. John Robinson was not the only one who believed that more light and truth would appear, in God's own time, than had been vouchsafed to Luther and Calvin. The earliest creed of the Medford church is characteristic of the first age of the Congregational denomination, and there is not much in it, when reasonably interpreted, to which Christians in general would object. Very different is the creed of the third Congregational Church in Medford, a church established in 1847, and entitled "The Mystic Church"; but whether named after the river, or referring to theological dogmas, we know not. This creed is substantial Calvinism to the core.

Mr. Brooks has taken a deep interest in the promotion of common-school education, evidenced in time past by public addresses, and familiar conversations, calculated to awaken general attention to the condition of our schools, and to prove that they did not partake of the general progressive spirit of the age. He labored earnestly and successfully, and did more than any other individual to prepare the way for the systematic and devoted work of Mr. Mann, commenced under more favorable auspices and crowned with eminent success. He has a right, therefore, to treat somewhat largely upon the subject in his History. He has narrated the humble beginnings, and the very gradual progress, of the common schools in Medford, during a long period, and bears testimony to their present satisfactory condition, resulting from the great impulses to which we have referred. His graphic description of the old-fashioned school-house will remind our older readers of their days of suffering.

"To speak generally, the school-houses had been as cheerful-looking objects as the county-jail, and quite as agreeable residences. Their windows were small; and some sashes had panes just as transparent as pasteboard or a felt hat, — which substitutes for glass lessened the need of blinds. The outer door had a strong lock upon it, while its two lower panels were in the vocative. The seats and desks being undivided, each pupil was compelled to mount upon the seat, and travel behind his classmates till he came to his place! This operation was a standing

trial of patience to those engaged in writing. The heavy tread of a careless boy upon the seat of a writer was not calculated to improve chirography or the temper. The smallest children, who had no desks before them, were packed so close together, that the uneasiness and pain which nature shoots through young limbs at rest subjected them to frequent admonition and ear-twigging. They who happened to be opposite the great iron stove, which stood in the centre of the room, were almost roasted; and they literally got their learning by the sweat of their brows. They who sat near this stove through a winter would be proof against any heat to be found in *this* world. So violent a fire at the centre caused the wind to rush in through the unpatented ventilators, — the cracks in the windows; and a consequence was, that, while the children nearest the stove were sweltering under more than the equatorial heat of the torrid zone, they who were nearest the windows were shivering under the icy blasts of the frozen latitudes." — p. 344.

In treating upon the early history of the common school, he awards the chief praise to Governor Prince, of Plymouth Colony, as having made, in 1663, the earliest movement upon the subject, which resulted the same year in an order "that some course may be taken that in every town there may be a schoolmaster set up, to train up children in reading and writing." This was the worthy suggestion of a very worthy man, but it applied to Plymouth alone, then an independent Colony, and *followed* in the wake of the Bay Colony. Our author has inadvertently done injustice to Massachusetts proper, a Colony earlier and more effectively in the field than Plymouth. The latter in 1663 simply suggested that the subject should be taken into "serious consideration," and in 1670 granted the profits that might annually accrue to the Colony "for fishing with a net or seines at Cape Cod, for mackerel, bass, or herrings, to be improved towards a free school in *some town* in this jurisdiction, . . . provided a beginning be made within a year after said grant." Thus the hint was first given in 1663; and up to 1670, there was not a single free school within the Pilgrim borders. The provision in Massachusetts, "to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers in church and commonwealth," bears date in 1647; and the school system was in full force here sixteen years before Prince called the attention of the Plymouth Assembly to this deeply interesting subject.

These early efforts of our fathers are deserving of all praise. When we consider the poverty of the colonists, their sparse population, and the humble condition of the large uneducated class among them, we are astonished at the bold project of popular education, and the marvelous success that attended it. The universal education of the people at the public expense was a novel idea in the history of civil government; and to the Massachusetts men, and more than all others to the clergy of Massachusetts, who were then almost the only educated men in the Colony, are we indebted for this inestimable blessing. The beginnings, of course, were humble, but they were all in the right direction, — the early dawn, assuring perfect day.

There are other subjects fully treated by the author; as the material industry of the town, and the various sources whence issue the streams of a prosperous condition.

In ship-building, who has not heard of the fame of Medford? — beginning with Governor Winthrop's bark, "The Blessing of the Bay," launched in 1631, and continuing on through successive generations, till it has now become a most important branch of productive industry. Full credit is given to Mr. Magoun, for his long, enlightened, and unwearied efforts in bringing the art to its present high and prosperous condition, — efforts which have been of exceeding great value to the country, and, as we are glad to learn, of large pecuniary emolument to himself. But we have room only to mention, in this connection, the footing of the "Register of Vessels built in Medford" from 1803 to 1854 inclusive; namely, 513 vessels (232,206 tons), valued at \$ 10,449,270.

The lives of the Medford lawyers are briefly touched upon. The eldest of this class was Timothy Bigelow, who is still remembered by many for the rank he held at the Middlesex Bar, his devotion to the interests of his clients, his rapid and earnest elocution, his professional skill, and success well assured amid many strong men from Suffolk, as well as Middlesex, his compeers and competitors. Abner Bartlett is fitly commemorated for his modest worth, and, we may add, is entitled to praise as a sound lawyer and a most useful citizen. He had no taste for the sharp conflicts of the forum, but he was

faithful to his profession, and conscientious in whatever he undertook, ever guided and governed by a high sense of honor.

"Among the inhabitants of Medford, there has not probably been a man who has served the town in so many and responsible offices as this gentleman. He was not made for a leader; he had not that kind of force, but left the race to those who coveted the laurels. He was a faithful member of the church, and all but revelled in spiritual disquisitions. As a neighbor he was most friendly, as a critic most caustic, and as a wit most ready." — p. 309.

And then there are honored names among the physicians; and the people still treasure the memory of the elder Dr. Tufts, and his no less distinguished and accomplished son, both of whom united Christian graces to professional skill, and of course exerted the most beneficent influence. Dr. Brooks was the pupil of the younger Tufts, and in all that pertains to the profession, to the daily beauty of private life, and to the character of a Christian gentleman, he was the equal of his instructor; while in the wider range of military and civic distinction he is identified with the history of the Commonwealth and of the country.

In relation to punishments for offences, Mr. Brooks is of the opinion that they were barbarous; and doubtless some of them were so; but it should be remembered they were the modes of punishment brought from England, and were in vigorous force there for more than a century afterwards. We do not go for the whipping-post, either for men or women; but we do go for almost any form of punishment that will wake up our community to a true sense of justice, and check the frauds which so abound amongst us as to deaden the moral sentiment of our people. The rogue who violates sacred pecuniary trusts, and spreads ruin all about him, is more apt to be considered as unfortunate if caught, and a martyr if punished, than to be viewed in his true character; unless, indeed, he be a sinner in humble life, with few friends and more rags, instead of walking in society in good broadcloth. We have sometimes thought it might be well for the community if those who cheat so extensively in stocks, for instance, should find other stocks provided for them in State Street and Wall Street, where they

could sit exposed to the public gaze with hands and feet well secured. Is it not about time to inaugurate these stocks anew, in the great resorts of trade?

The author has a short chapter on slavery, and relates the story of a Malay slave, some time resident in Medford, who was "sold South," and afterwards, making his escape from his Southern "owner," found his way back to Medford, where he was seized by the "owner," and, after being bound, was carried on shipboard, whence he suddenly disappeared through the instrumentality of some of the Medford people, who had no veneration for wrong.

We are told (p. 436) that the "gentlemen of Medford have always disclaimed any participation in the slave-trade." This is well. It may have been from a general disinclination, or from not being engaged in foreign trade; but if it had its cause in moral and religious considerations, it would show that the Mystic people had holier perceptions than their neighbors. This we cannot accord to them. Darkness brooded over New England, as over the Middle and Southern Colonies, until the discussions that resulted in the Revolution showed our people their great inconsistency.

The following account current of a slave voyage from Boston, in 1770, stated in the cool, mercantile debtor and creditor way, shows the deadened sentiment of the time. We copy it from the History.

Dr.		<i>The natives of Annamboo.</i>		Per contra,	Cr.
1770.		<i>gals.</i>	1770.		<i>gals.</i>
Apr. 22.	To 1 hogshead of rum	110	Apr. 22.	By 1 woman-slave	110
May 1.	" rum	130	May 1.	" 1 prime woman-slave	130
" 2.	" 1 hogshead rum	105	" 2.	" 1 boy-slave, 4ft. 1in.	105
" 7.	" 1 hogshead rum	108	" 7.	" 1 boy-slave, 4ft. 3in.	108
" 5.	" cash in gold	5oz. 2.	" 5.	" 1 prime man-slave 5oz. 2.	
" 5.	" cash in gold	2oz.			
" 5.	" 2 doz. of snuff	1oz.	" 5.	" 1 old man for a Lin-	
		—3oz. 0.		gister	3oz. 0.

The author's views upon the peculiar institution are the true New England views, so long overlaid by cotton and trade, but now breaking out in every variety of form, and all showing the right instincts. We must, however, here remark, that he gives our ancestors too great credit in ordering the return of certain blacks to Guinea in 1646. It was not from their hatred of slavery, but from

hatred of man-stealing. One Captain Smith had brought several negroes into the Colony, "fraudulently and injuriously" according to the General Court record, October, 1645, and the person who held one of them was directed to send him to Boston in order to be returned to Africa. At the same session the Court refused to allow Smith any thing for these negroes, "they being none of his, but stolne." And in November, 1646, when they passed the order for the "negro interpreter" — perhaps the only one of Smith's captives whom they could find — to be sent to his native country, it was not against slavery that they bore "witness," but "agnt ye hainous and crying sinn of man stealing." Slavery, it seems, existed in Medford as early as 1638, and before that time Maverick had slaves at Noddle's Island; and so of others. At the very time that the General Court were bearing this witness, the "Body of Laws and Liberties" was in full force in the Colony, and one of the provisions thereof was as follows, viz.: "There shall never be any bond slaverie villinage or captivity amongst us, unles it be lawfull captives taken in just warres, and such strangers as willingly selle themselves *or are sold to us*. And these shall have all the liberties and Christian usages which the law of God established in Israell concerning such persons doeth morally require." This is the earliest provision on the subject; and although we cannot say that it establishes the "peculiar institution," it certainly recognizes the legality of the *status* of slavery. But the sharp sting of this relation was materially blunted by the provision insuring to the bondman all the liberties, &c. which the Hebrew bondsmen possessed; a condition of being very different from that of the African slave. From this cause, and also from the character of our people, the African was treated more like the hired man than the serf. He was a slave because he was the subject of involuntary service; but baptism, religious instruction, common-school instruction, the sanctity of the marriage tie, complete protection against violence and cruelty under the ægis of the law, were all his by right. In addition to this, slavery was not an hereditary condition. It embraced only those who were brought into the country as slaves. Before the adoption of our State Constitution, children born here of slave parents were born free. This,

indeed, is contrary to the old and present notion, and contrary to former usage; but it has been twice solemnly adjudicated by our highest judicial tribunal.

A very pleasant chapter is given upon the manners and customs of the early Puritan settlers, and their daily and domestic habits, followed by a long series of interesting historical items. We should be glad to quote from the chapter upon the individual Puritan, could we separate a portion from the pleasant whole, — and, indeed, from many other parts of the book; but we have already trespassed upon the limits usually assigned to notices of town histories.

This volume contains an unusual number of engravings, — portraits, and views of buildings; and closes with “The Register of Families,” prepared by Mr. William H. Whitmore, of Boston, a young gentleman who has already acquired a good reputation for genealogical investigations.

In conclusion, we may say, — after some reading in town histories, — that Mr. Brooks has made a very readable and interesting book of this class. As a whole, the book is well wrought. It stands in the first line of local chronicles, and perhaps on the extreme right. It has the ring of true metal. It is a substantial contribution to this species of literature, preserves much that otherwise would soon fall out of memory, enters with true zeal into the old Puritan story, and, while not blind to the faults of our fathers, does justice to their more numerous virtues, and to those noble elements of their nature and nurture which have left enduring marks upon every succeeding generation, and are the basis of all that is valuable and permanent in our present condition of society.

J. W.

ART. VI. — REFLECTIONS.

THE common trinkets of literature are continually changing their form, but its diamonds are never out of fashion.

Many literary “effusions” proceed from water on the brain.

The pantheism of the East represents men as snow-flakes exhaled from a boundless ocean, and whirling over its surface till absorbed in its bosom ; but Christ says that we are God's children, made in his image, to grow more and more like him for ever.

Many persons give to the body the regard which belongs to the mind, and to dress the regard which belongs to the body.

The way to a wise man's heart is through his head.

We spend much of life in making blunders, and more of it in correcting them.

The chief mistake of most aspirants for greatness is their neglect of the precept, "He who would be greatest among you, let him be your servant."

Seek desert, but wait for distinction.

A man may think well and yet not act wisely. The power to see what is right is very different from the power of doing it. A man of moral energy will accomplish more with a little knowledge than a man of infirm will with much. And strength of will is generally acquired by struggling with difficulties in early life.

Condense your style to make it fine !

Men relish salt, but nauseate brine.

For "thoughts that breathe " don't waste their breath

In windy talk that tires to death,

But keep their place in "fancy's urn,"

Till wedded to the "words that burn,"—

Words of electric fire, that dart

Directly to the mind and heart.

Labor is the great support of good morals. After Adam and Eve were obliged to earn their bread by the sweat of their brows, we hear no more of the serpent's tempting them.

Minds like Dr. Johnson's, acute but melancholy, resemble strong solvents consuming the vessels that hold them.

He doubles his troubles who borrows to-morrow's.

Men gravitate towards right, but are continually drawn aside by disturbing causes.

At times a nobler mood of mind,
Bringing increase
Of power and peace,
Shows for what height we were designed.

A political platform often serves as a spring-board for turning summersets.

In old age artificial distinctions fade; for old men have learned that such distinctions are insignificant compared with what they have in common.

The ambitious often fall into the ditch while gazing at the stars.

Splendid qualities break forth in dark times, like lightning from a thunder-cloud. (Lacon condensed.)

God is most merciful when he punishes most speedily.

The high-minded and the low-minded come in contact without mixing, like oil and water. Each keeps his level.

Mankind are split into companies, which follow their captains, but see little of their generals.

Experience shows that some men's force
Lies in the strength of their discourse;
And when the stirring words are said,
The speaker's energy is dead.

The price of virtue, like that of liberty, is eternal vigilance.

"The world's a stage," and the most pompous parts are often played by the poorest performers.

Men run the gauntlet in the race of life,
And win their way through toil and pain and strife.

May not the lower animals be placed here for intellectual training, and pass at death into a state in which the moral and religious sense will be developed?

The miner's life is hard,
For he digs up gold with pain;
But the miser's lot is harder,
For he buries it again.

Obscure writings, like unripe nuts, seldom pay for the trouble of getting at what is in them.

We should regulate our lives, as we do our clocks, by looking beyond this world.

A law which began with the birthday of time
 Allows us no choice but to sink or to climb ;
 To sink like the twinklers of night,
 Which hurry at morn from on high,
 Or climb like the sun in his might,
 O'ercoming the whirl of the sky
 And rising alone to the summit of heaven,
 While planets and stars from their places are driven,
 Like thousands from virtue and happiness whirled,
 Unresolved, unresisting, undone by the world.*

Man finds fragments of truth, but cannot fit them together so as to form a whole.

As old copper is used for new castings, the bodies of the dead are dissolved and remoulded into those of the living.

Folly is always in fashion.

Men's countenances, more than their circumstances, indicate their condition.

Such people as try to get more than their due
 Can hardly help getting bad characters too ;
 And ninety-nine times in a hundred are cursed
 With keeping the second and losing the first.

Weak ideas run for help to big words.

The gravity of the old is much of it assumed. When the young have grown old, they do not feel as the old used to look to them, and so do not realize the age which they have reached.

Forsaken follies send their darts
 From far, to rankle in our hearts.
 A blessed influence from above,
 Inspiring peace and hope and love
 In hearts o'ercharged with grief and care,
 Oft meets half-way the humble prayer.

* Ovid's "Nitor in adversum," &c. may be thus translated :—

While stars and planets sink, I climb the sky,
 Stemming the force that whirls them from on high.

The longer we live, the more evils we see, and the more good resulting from them.

The dependence of happiness on virtue is at first a dim conception, which gradually matures into a speculative belief, a practical principle, a solace in affliction and a support in death.

Since man left Paradise, he has come to the knowledge of good and evil only by eating of the tree of life.

The young long for lands beyond the ocean, and the old for regions beyond the grave.

FOR A SUN-DIAL.

With hand upraised, from morn to night
I preach of time's unceasing flight;
And, while earth's brightness fades away,
Point to the realms of endless day. .

Men are ranged in circles round a cone; the higher the circle, the smaller the company.

The fool buys wisdom at the highest price.

Some men aim to serve others; most men to make others serve them. The former are the salt which saves the mass from corruption.

The fame of many a celebrated man is as hollow as his plaster bust.

It is safest to take for granted that others see the motives of our acts. The attempt to conceal them usually resembles the ostrich's attempt to conceal its body by hiding its head.

The progress of a great mind resembles that of a giant striding from mountain to mountain without touching the valleys.

Writers of low fictions "hold the mirror *down* to nature."

Popular writers usually deal with facts as wig-makers do with heads, supplying a graceful covering for their baldness.

The world admires genius much, but courage and fortitude more.

It is not wealth or fame which pays
The good man best for toil and pain,
But the small voice within which says
He has not lived in vain.

Low minds feel humbled by acknowledging a service.
Only the generous are grateful.

Doubt makes doing hobble.

A pleasant temper oils the wheels of life,
Which grate so harshly in the midst of strife.

The enjoyments of the selfish are low and limited,
and grow less as they advance.

The sources of poetical inspiration, though always
changing, are always abundant; for all that stirs the
feelings and the imagination is poetical.

The pain of doing right is less than the punishment of
doing wrong.

The hollow show that bloats our pride
Emaciates our good.

God's grace is proportioned to man's effort.

Follies, like fevers, run their course,
Nor end till they have spent their force.

The way of duty is the highway laid out for people to
travel in. If, for the sake of taking short cuts, they
trample through their neighbor's high grass, they are
likely to get into trouble.

A gentleman being asked to suggest an emblem of
morning, replied that he thought the best emblem of
morning was a lady in a calico gown with her hair in
papers.

May it not be true of nations, as of individuals, that
the greatest advantages do not always bring the greatest
happiness? Our people have so much food and freedom
that they kick like Jeshurun, but they do not wax fat, for
they are not contented. They resemble a man always
changing his residence to find a better one, living on the
road to die in a palace. One of our public men, quoted
by Lord Morpeth (now Earl of Carlisle), says, "There
are in the United States less misery and less happiness
than in any other country."

A little girl, four years old, on being told that she would make her eyes weak by looking at the sun, replied, "I like to be sorried for sometimes."

How often men of genius find their curse
In the keen sensibility they nurse !
Admire, but envy not, the gifted few
Consuming in the blaze that dazzles you !

No one would be praised, if the love of praise were supposed to be his only motive.

Many a man's fame dies with him, because it was kept alive only by his careful nursing.

No one was ever paid the cost
Of self-respect and virtue lost,
By those applauses which proclaim
A people's and a favorite's shame.

Self-love makes us value the praise of those whose praise of others we think worthless.

To lighten the load of life, we must increase our own strength.

The crowded paths of life converge to a dark abyss, into which the front ranks every moment plunge and disappear.

The heat of the day is greatest after the sun has passed the meridian, and the duties of life gravest after its decline has begun.

Slight accidents are serious warnings.

The world 's a school, where infants get
A knowledge of the alphabet,
And grow obedient to rule,
And fit to join a higher school.

Most new books are new only in form.

A cemetery full of natural beauties is a fit entrance to Paradise.

Conscience proves free-will.

What are the sinner's wages ? Death
In self-reproach and shame ;
His spirit sinks whene'er he thinks
Of Him from whom he came.

But virtue's peace to all who 've trod
In virtue's path is given,
For he who lives in fear of God
Shall die in hope of heaven.

We must watch our passions, as men in a wilderness
watch the wild animals around them.

However poor the good man be,
No other man 's so rich as he.

When the feelings are touched, the character often
starts forth like Satan at the touch of Ithuriel's spear.

Men's positions here do not always show their relative
value. The units and the tens are often transposed.

Many words are not needed men's knowledge to show,
But to cover the fact of how little they know.

Searching for truth is like sifting dirt for diamonds.
We must pursue knowledge under difficulties, or get but
little of it.

The pleasure of success and the pain of failure are
proportioned, not to the importance of the object sought,
but to the interest which has been felt in the pursuit,
and the liveliest interest is often excited by trifling
things, owing to the contagion of sympathy and many
other causes.

To hold one's head up helps to keep one's heart up.

Manners and customs are often compromises between
wisdom and folly.

He who has outlived his friends feels that his home is
beyond the grave.

Resignation to evils that can be cured does not stand
high among the Christian graces.

Political institutions, which leave men free to do what
they choose, are fit only for those who choose to do
right.

'T is strange that it should be so hard to find the right
way, when so many people are ready to show it.

The chief advantage of a new form of benevolent
effort frequently is, that it revives a zeal which was flag-

ging. When people are tired of doing good in one way, it is well to set them about doing good in another way.

A bleeding finger is more noticed than a bleeding heart.

Providence does much to save us from real evils, but we must save ourselves from imaginary ones.

To get the greatest good, a man
Must do the greatest good he can.

The nature within us is a higher subject of study than the nature without us.

Men do less than they ought, unless they do all that they can.

Much of the world's "progress" is in a wrong direction.

The aspiring disposition of our people is shown in the names which they give to their children. All the heroes and heroines of romance run barefoot about our villages.

A man without care is seldom without trouble.

E. W.

ART. VII. — PRESCOTT'S REIGN OF PHILIP THE SECOND.*

THE accomplished scholar, who, by the consent of readers and critics, both at home and abroad, bears the palm of highest fame among our historians, has again invited a widely extended circle of readers to enjoy the maturest fruits of his unwearied pen. For our own part we could have wished that he had pursued the continuous thread of the history which he had taken up in his *Ferdinand and Isabella*, and, before dealing with their great-grandson Philip, his present theme, had engaged himself with the life and exploits of his father, Charles V. Mr. Prescott leaps the space of near forty

* *History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain.* By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1855. 8vo. 2 vols. pp. 618, 610.

years, between the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the accession of Philip II., save as he has given us some of the episodes in its course in his volumes on the Conquest of Mexico and Peru, and in an introductory chapter to his present work. Isabella died in 1504; Ferdinand died in 1516; the conquest of Mexico dates in 1518; that of Peru and Chili ten years later. Charles V., the grandson of these Catholic sovereigns, was born in 1500, his father, Philip the Handsome of Burgundy, being the son of the Emperor Maximilian, and his mother, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, being Joanna, the Queen proprietor of Castile. The death of Charles's mother's father, in 1516, made him King of Spain, and the death of his father's father, in 1519, made him Emperor. And while we are upon this matter of royal genealogies, as preparing the way for a statement of Mr. Prescott's new and most engaging theme, we may as well add a few more facts under the same dry, but still very vital, head of pedigrees and relationship. For not among the least of the perplexities presented to us in the veritable history of the times and the characters treated in these volumes, is the fact that the royal personages whose quarrels and intrigues form so much of the subject-matter were all so near of kin, blood-relations of the closest sort, yet by no means constituting a fellowship of mutual admirers, or a "Happy Family" of sovereigns or of cabinet councillors. The only wife of Charles V., the mother of Philip II., was Isabella, daughter of Emanuel the Great of Portugal. Mary, Regent of the Netherlands, and formerly Queen of Hungary, and Eleanor, the Queen of Francis I. of France, were sisters of Charles V. Ferdinand, to whom Charles resigned the imperial crown, was his brother, and Maximilian, Ferdinand's son, married Mary, Charles's eldest daughter. Margaret of Parma, whom Philip made Regent of the Netherlands, was a natural daughter, and Don John of Austria was a natural son, of Charles. Philip II., who was born in 1527, married first the Infanta Mary, daughter of John III. of Portugal and of Catharine, another sister of Charles; and Joanna, Charles's youngest daughter, married the eldest son of the same John. Queen Mary of England, Philip's second wife, was the daughter of Henry VIII. and of

Catherine of Aragon; and so, as granddaughter of Isabella of Castile, she was cousin to Charles, to whom also she was once betrothed, though the fates designed her for the son instead of the father, and the fates made a sorry business of it even then. But as if either to rectify or to aggravate this misarrangement, when Philip yet twice more bestowed his hand in marriage, he received in both cases the hands of virgin princesses who had been destined for his son, the ill-omened Don Carlos. His third wife was Elizabeth, daughter of his cousin Henry II. of France, and his fourth wife was Anne of Austria, daughter of his cousin the Emperor Maximilian.

As a companion sketch to this summing up of the family alliances between jealous and often warring sovereigns, we should place before us the strange elements which entered into the composition of their armies. When Henry of France, the hesitating son of the Church, was at war with Philip, the most Catholic of princes, the former had for allies the Pope and the *Grand Turk*,—as Solymán had been invited into the league of Christian sovereigns! The Pope had a corps of mercenaries composed of *German Lutherans*, as had also the Constable of France, Montmorency. Indeed, some of the same sort of soldiers, who had been under Philip's standard, left him for the sake of surer and better pay under Henry. Add to these relations of kinship between rival potentates, and of heresy, and infidelity, and Catholicism between the armies called into service, the tangled complications of diplomacy, and we have some means for forming a conception of the degree of clear-headedness needed by the historian who has to deal with such materials.

Mr. Prescott has mastered the difficulties of his task, and has made a most laboriously faithful use of his rich, but often bewildering and conflicting documents. The first duty which his readers owe alike to themselves and to him is to appreciate and allow for the embarrassments of his work, by entering into a real study of its materials. His Preface informs us at length of the fresh sources for authentic writing which have been opened to his use, as well as of his diligence and zeal in availing himself of them. Some of our journals, boastful of the thrift of a few modern authors, are announcing the num-

ber of thousands of dollars which this work is bringing to its writer. We apprehend that, if the cost to which he has been put in procuring his materials were also announced, it would appear that his publisher's returns are not all clear profit. But we have no concern with the cost of the materials, while their value is everything to us. It was at an opportune time that the author undertook his work. The jealousy of a government most jealous of its archives had been relaxed just in season to serve Mr. Prescott's purposes, while a generous acknowledgment of his eminent services as a Spanish historiographer has disposed it to grant him peculiar favors. Those archives are rich, and the contents of them throw a flood of light upon events, their agencies and methods, and their intricacies of operation, besides revealing to us the motives of the prominent actors in them, — subjects which have heretofore been covered by a thick veil of mystery. The historian of those times has, until recently, been left to the necessity of conjecture, where knowledge was most essential to him; and we have to add, that such historians have yielded to the necessity of the case almost as readily as have our interpreters of the Egyptian monuments. We will not undertake an enumeration of the sources from which Mr. Prescott has obtained his precious documentary stores; it is enough to say, that the very experience which he has had of the wholly unsatisfactory and conflicting statements of those who have written without such documents, has disposed him not only to make the best use of original sources, but to practise a critic's keenest skill in harmonizing or deciding between discordant narrations. Not one in fifty of his readers will apprehend the perplexities which he has had to encounter, or the difficulties of digesting the facts and assertions which are assimilated on his delightfully smooth pages. Even when he has had before him the public despatches and the diplomatic correspondence of the august personages whose secrets he wishes to learn, and has deciphered the mysterious chirography of the sixteenth century, he has by no means made sure of his facts, or unravelled the tangled meshes of affairs. He has then to look up the more secret, the unofficial, but most effective advices and orders, which perhaps were in direct opposition to those

conveyed in due form. Two couriers might start on the same day bearing documents, some in legible characters and some in cipher, addressed to the same person, but of a most contrary import on the same matters. The letters of a prominent actor in world-wide affairs, or in private intrigues, to his superior or to his subordinate, to his friend or to his enemy, to his patron or to his creature, written during successive hours, when compared together, may disclose politic falsehoods and subtle flat-teries, and abominations of deceit, such as will lead us to infer that what is gained to history is lost to our confidence in man by the study of "contemporaneous documents." That ecclesiastics should suffer the most from such exposure, is hardly a new revelation to those who know that in days of evil policy the clergy can gain political influence only through the misuse and perversion, not at all through the legitimate exercise, of their spiritual functions. Mr. Prescott reminds us that, with such a wealth of documents, and with such an insight into motives as their comparison furnishes, a faithful and judicious student knows actually more of the men and the times of which he treats, than they did who lived in them and worked out their incidents.

We can but express a wish that the author may complete his great task as successfully as he has opened and executed some very difficult stages of it. He has a long and an arduous way yet left to him. Philip exceeded by a little space the term of seventy years assigned to man. He reigned for more than forty years. The portion of his life through which his reign extended was an era big with some of the most stirring and momentous events which mark the transition from all the ancient institutions and influences of the Middle Ages in Europe to those of our modern times. Great themes present themselves to the historian,—events and characters the romance of which will be heightened, not dispelled, by the pen of the most faithful annalist, though now they stand to us as but little more than romance. The present volumes, beginning with the year 1555, carry us through thirteen of the forty-three years of Philip's reign. We must give a very brief and inadequate sketch of their contents.

The work opens with a graphic and richly wrought

delineation of a scene which is eminently suited to catch and to keep the kindled interest of the reader. It is rare that an historian finds a starting-point from so defined and remarkable an incident,—one that may be seized as the sun is painting it, and may be pictured with the accompaniment of striking details. After a few paragraphs crowded with a condensed biography of Charles V., Mr. Prescott takes us to Brussels in the month of October, 1555, to witness the imposing scene of the Emperor's renunciation of his worldly pomp, and his abdication of the highest office which Europe then had to bestow. The picturesque pageantry of that age of elaborate ceremonial, not, however, at all overdone or belittled by the tinsel or tastelessness of a display beyond the occasion, is richly drawn by the historian. Charles had invested Philip with the Order of the Golden Fleece, the proudest and most prized of all the orders of knighthood. The prince, who had been summoned from the side of his new bride in England to receive the splendid honors which his father wished to renounce, stands up with him in presence of a dignified convention of the States of the Netherlands, and listens to his parent's simple but touchingly earnest words. The Emperor leans upon the vigorous frame of the young William of Orange, of whose wise and devoted service in a better cause than that of Charles or Philip we are to read in the later volumes of this work. In the following January Charles ceded to Philip by deed the sovereignty of Castile and Aragon, with their dependencies. The Emperor still retained the title of his higher honors, as his brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans, who was to succeed to the imperial crown, had not yet received the sanction of the Electoral College. Gladly would Charles have made his son his successor to that crown, but the Diet at Ratisbon had five years before withheld a compliance with his wishes.

We extract a few impressive paragraphs from the description of this scene. Charles, says the historian, spoke in the French language, in substance as follows:—

“He was unwilling, he said, to part from his people without a few words from his own lips. It was now forty years since he had been intrusted with the sceptre of the Netherlands. He

was soon after called to take charge of a still more extensive empire, both in Spain and in Germany, involving a heavy responsibility for one so young. He had, however, endeavored earnestly to do his duty to the best of his abilities. He had been ever mindful of the interests of the dear land of his birth, but, above all, of the great interests of Christianity. His first object had been to maintain these inviolate against the infidel. In this he had been thwarted, partly by the jealousy of neighboring powers, and partly by the factions of the heretical princes of Germany.

"In the performance of his great work, he had never consulted his ease. His expeditions, in war and in peace, to France, England, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Flanders, had amounted to no less than forty. Four times he had crossed the Spanish seas, and eight times the Mediterranean. He had shrunk from no toil, while he had the strength to endure it. But a cruel malady had deprived him of that strength. Conscious of his inability to discharge the duties of his station, he had long since come to the resolution to relinquish it. From this he had been diverted only by the situation of his unfortunate parent, and by the inexperience of his son. These objections no longer existed; and he should not stand excused, in the eye of Heaven or of the world, if he should insist on still holding the reins of government when he was incapable of managing them,—when every year his incapacity must become more obvious.

"He begged them to believe that this, and no other motive, induced him to resign the sceptre which he had so long swayed. They had been to him dutiful and loving subjects; and such, he doubted not, they would prove to his successor. Above all things, he besought them to maintain the purity of the faith. If any one, in these licentious times, had admitted doubts into his bosom, let such doubts be extirpated at once. 'I know well,' he concluded, 'that, in my long administration, I have fallen into many errors, and committed some wrongs. But it was from ignorance; and, if there be any here whom I have wronged, they will believe that it was not intended, and grant me their forgiveness.'

"While the Emperor was speaking, a breathless silence pervaded the whole audience. Charles had ever been dear to the people of the Netherlands,—the land of his birth. They took a national pride in his achievements, and felt that his glory reflected a peculiar lustre on themselves. As they now gazed for the last time on that revered form, and listened to the parting admonitions from his lips, they were deeply affected, and not a dry eye was to be seen in the assembly.

"After a short interval, Charles, turning to Philip, who, in an attitude of deep respect, stood awaiting his commands, thus addressed him: 'If the vast possessions which are now bestowed on you had come by inheritance, there would be abundant cause for gratitude. How much more, when they come as a free gift, in the lifetime of your father! But, however large the debt, I shall consider it all repaid, if you only discharge your duty to your subjects. So rule over them, that men shall commend and not censure me for the part I am now acting. Go on as you have begun. Fear God; live justly; respect the laws; above all, cherish the interests of religion; and may the Almighty bless you with a son, to whom, when old and stricken with disease, you may be able to resign your kingdom with the same goodwill with which I now resign mine to you.'

"As he ceased, Philip, much affected, would have thrown himself at his father's feet, assuring him of his intention to do all in his power to merit such goodness; but Charles, raising his son, tenderly embraced him, while the tears flowed fast down his cheeks. Every one, even the most stoical, was touched by this affecting scene; 'and nothing,' says one who was present, 'was to be heard throughout the hall, but sobs and ill-suppressed moans.' Charles, exhausted by his efforts, and deadly pale, sank back upon his seat; while, with feeble accents, he exclaimed, as he gazed on his people, 'God bless you! God bless you!'

"After these emotions had somewhat subsided, Philip arose, and, delivering himself in French, briefly told the deputies of the regret which he felt at not being able to address them in their native language, and to assure them of the favor and high regard in which he held them. This would be done for him by the Bishop of Arras."—Vol. I. pp. 14–18.

Charles was then in his fifty-sixth year, but his frame, once capable of any hardship and effort of physical endurance, was now shattered by infirmities; and the glutinous indulgence of an appetite for rich viands denied him even the possibility of restored health in his retirement. Mr. Prescott follows him back to Spain, and, in a chapter of the richest description and narrative, presents to us his course of life in the monastery at Yuste, till the end came to him on September 21, 1558. Our author has been subjected, at this point of his story, to a disappointment which, we can well conceive, must have been a grievous one, though we do not infer it from the modest and dignified reference which he makes to it. He had written his chapter on the "Latter Days of

Charles V." in the summer of 1851, having enjoyed the high satisfaction of believing that he would be the first to communicate to English readers the new and abundant information furnished upon that romantic theme by the opening to scholars of the rich manuscript treasures in the archives of Simancas. But in the interval that has transpired, the publication of the original documents by M. Gachard, of the works of M. Pichot and M. Mignet, and of the fine volume by Mr. Stirling, entitled "The Cloister Life of Charles V.," has deprived Mr. Prescott of his anticipated pleasure.

Still he has found abundant occasion for the exercise of his critical skill upon these documents, and the reader will note how well his practised pen has wrought upon materials which, if they have not the freshest charm of novelty in his pages, have the value of a careful and authentic digest of often conflicting and unreliable details. The graceful acknowledgment which Mr. Prescott makes of the merits of Mr. Stirling's volume, is a fine illustration of a spirit that can commend another to eyes and ears which it had hoped to win to its own labors.*

Our author has presented the character of Charles certainly with a strong and distinct individuality, in which the influences of his own age, far from being passively yielded to, were moulded and used by the energy of his master spirit. We believe that his character is also presented with fidelity, and that any writer who shall henceforward employ the abundant materials which exist to work out a more adequate biography than Dr. Robertson's, will find no occasion for essentially modify-

* Considering that Mr. Prescott has paid so generous a tribute to Mr. Stirling, both at the beginning and the end of the chapter under notice, we read with "surprise" the following sentence in an article on the work before us in Putnam's Magazine for January, 1856: "We must confess our surprise at finding no reference, in this part of the sketch, to the careful and thorough researches of Mr. Stirling, — an omission which is the more remarkable, that Mr. Prescott is by no means sparing in his use of complimentary notes." Surely the writer must confess also to some inadvertence on his own part. And while we are referring to this Magazine article, we would suggest that the writer adds unnecessarily to the burden now resting upon Mr. Prescott, and extends the claims which readers have upon him for the completion of his work, by intimating that it must treat of the Thirty Years' War. The date from which that protracted and continuous struggle begins is twenty years after the death of Philip.

ing the view of the Emperor which is set forth in these pages. There was a massiveness of mind in Charles, and a sort of politic spirit of temporizing when he would not actually yield his own will to the difficulty of circumstances. Mr. Prescott makes us understand the real difference in the characters of the father and the son, which in some cases dictated a difference of policy, and in other cases pursued the same policy by different methods; so that, though the two had many strong points of resemblance, they nevertheless represent to us the workings and the results of two very unlike spirits. Charles was by birth a Fleming, and Philip was by birth a Spaniard. The former was held in a regard strangely mingled of honor and fear by the Netherlanders, while the latter was simply hated by them. Yet Charles had laid the foundation and provided the elements of all the troubles which Philip there encountered, while the seeds of dissension sown by the father had to be dealt with by the son as they had grown and were ripening into bitter fruits.

Our author then gives us a finely drawn sketch of Philip's youth and training, leaving us to gather together the emphatic qualities of his manhood, as from his earliest years they were manifested, to be only intensified in his maturity. If there be any trait in that character which relieves its sombre gloom, its dark and cruel malignity, and its unscrupulous tenacity in working out under a calm reserve its dire purposes, it is a sort of consistency between all its exhibitions of itself, which manifests a *principle* of action; while, at the same time, as that principle was manifestly guided by what then passed for the highest rule of loyalty to religion, we have to visit some of the severity of our judgment, which would otherwise fall on the man, upon that hideous code of ethics under which his ecclesiastical tutors had trained him. Philip was indeed the favorite pupil of the old Spanish church system. It would be difficult, we think, to make a fair distribution of his hateful purposes and his cruel deeds, without assigning them in equal measurements to his character and his creed. A type of his whole course, and of his ruling principle through life, is furnished us in the arrangements made by him for the secret execution of Montigny. Philip sent three officials

to the prison to accomplish that dark deed: a really pious priest, to break the intelligence of his doom to the prisoner, and to afford him true religious consolation for his last few hours; a strong-handed ruffian, who would throttle his victim, so as to leave, as nearly as possible, the appearance of a natural death; and a notary, to make a legal record of the proceedings, either to invite the scrutiny or to defy the judgment of posterity. Philip would not have put to death his worst enemy without offering him, and urging upon him, a priestly shriving; but after that process had been performed, Philip could have looked upon the form of any man or woman, however nearly related to him, while it was subjected to slow torture.

Mr. Prescott has given us a brilliant relation of Philip's voyage and journey from Spain in 1548, when he was twenty years old, to visit his father at Brussels. The subject calls out all the author's fertility of knowledge and imagery, in rehearsing to us the opinions and manners of the time. The mode and course of travel, the picturesque adornments of the cavalcade and the court ceremonial, the incidental accounts of the men of mark, whose fortunes are afterwards to mingle in the stream of the chief narrative, make these fascinating pages most welcome in a work which has so much to try the feelings of a reader. Admirably too are we made to realize the grounds upon which, in this journey, the future subjects of the young prince learned to dislike and to dread him. His more politic father sought in vain to prompt him to those graces of demeanor which alone can win the hearts of men and women. The Electoral Diet had good reasons for declining, two years after this visit, to recognize the sullen wearer of those gloomy brows as the head of the empire.

The reader of English history is always made to feel a dreary chill passing over his sympathies as he comes to that page in its annals which Mr. Prescott has to write anew,—and not without additional interest,—in relating the marriage of Philip with Mary. He by no means relieves the sense of unfitness, the shock of disgust even, which the discordancy and incongruity with all the other episodes of English history of that odious alliance excite within us. We really believe, that if the

father of Pocahontas had gone from our shores as an accepted suitor of Mary, and had become her husband, we should have found it more easy to work the incident into the diversified, but otherwise homogeneous elements of that history. Summoned from the over-fond and unreturned caresses of his bride to receive from his father, as already related, the royalty which that father wished to renounce, Philip afterwards made but one short visit to England; and in four years after his marriage, while he was at Brussels, he received the tidings of Mary's death. In a month afterwards he made offers of marriage to her successor, Elizabeth. Seeing that the fates had determined that Philip should be the husband of one of the sovereigns of England, we can but wish that he had fallen under the matrimonial supervision of Elizabeth; for if certain lectures from any one could have had a much-needed effect on him, we are confident that that imperious dame would have given them a most hopeful enforcement. And more than this, if Philip in that case had not profited by her discipline, the probability is that the English people would have anticipated the process of that "High Court" which afterwards sat on "the Royal Martyr," and would have been led, by their honest instincts as to the fitnesses of things, to have used the stake instead of the headsman's axe to perfect their sentence.

Mr. Prescott's volumes, necessarily given up, as we have intimated, to a series of episodes, now relate, in two vigorous chapters, the grounds and incidents of the struggle between Pope Paul IV. and Philip for the latter's possessions in Southern Italy. Here comes upon the stage the Duke of Alva, who, as victor in Philip's behalf as to the main issue in the strife, yielded to that bitterest of all the terms of peace which compelled him to throw himself at the feet of the Pontiff, and sue for pardon for having contended with the head of the Church. Then comes another episode, in two more chapters, enriched with highly exciting narrative and momentous incidents, devoted to Philip's war with Henry II. of France, which ended with the espousal by the former of the daughter of the latter, as his third bride, — the intended bride of Don Carlos. Philip returns to Spain to resume his government, and, amid all the pageantry of his reception, he is

an unshocked, apparently a most gratified, spectator of an *auto de fé*. We transfer to our pages the all too faithful description of this shocking spectacle. In the great square, in front of the church of St. Francis, at Valladolid, a platform had been raised for the inquisitors, a gallery for the royal spectators, and a scaffold for the victims.

"At six in the morning all the bells in the capital began to toll, and a solemn procession was seen to move from the dismal fortress of the Inquisition. In the van marched a body of troops, to secure a free passage for the procession. Then came the condemned, each attended by two familiars of the Holy Office, and those who were to suffer at the stake by two friars, in addition, exhorting the heretic to abjure his errors. Those admitted to penitence wore a sable dress; while the unfortunate martyr was enveloped in a loose sack of yellow cloth,—the *san benito*,—with his head surmounted by a cap of pasteboard of a conical form, which, together with the cloak, was embroidered with figures of flames and of devils fanning and feeding them; all emblematical of the destiny of the heretic's soul in the world to come, as well as of his body in the present. Then came the magistrates of the city, the judges of the courts, the ecclesiastical orders, and the nobles of the land, on horseback. These were followed by the members of the dread tribunal, and the fiscal, bearing a standard of crimson damask, on one side of which were displayed the arms of the Inquisition, and on the other the insignia of its founders, Sixtus the Fifth and Ferdinand the Catholic. Next came a numerous train of familiars, well mounted, among whom were many of the gentry of the province, proud to act as the body-guard of the Holy Office. The rear was brought up by an immense concourse of the common people, stimulated on the present occasion, no doubt, by the loyal desire to see their new sovereign, as well as by the ambition to share in the triumphs of the *auto de fé*. The number thus drawn together from the capital and the country, far exceeding what was usual on such occasions, is estimated by one present at full two hundred thousand.

"As the multitude defiled into the square, the inquisitors took their place on the seats prepared for their reception. The condemned were conducted to the scaffold, and the royal station was occupied by Philip, with the different members of his household. At his side sat his sister, the late regent, his son, Don Carlos, his nephew, Alexander Farnese, several foreign ambassadors, and the principal grandees and higher ecclesiastics in attendance on the court. It was an august assembly of the greatest and

the proudest in the land. But the most indifferent spectator, who had a spark of humanity in his bosom, might have turned with feelings of admiration from this array of worldly power, to the poor martyr, who, with no support but what he drew from within, was prepared to defy this power, and to lay down his life in vindication of the rights of conscience. Some there may have been, in that large concourse, who shared in these sentiments. But their number was small indeed in comparison with those who looked on the wretched victim as the enemy of God, and his approaching sacrifice as the most glorious triumph of the cross.

"The ceremonies began with a sermon, 'the sermon of the faith,' by the Bishop of Zamora. The subject of it may well be guessed, from the occasion. It was no doubt plentifully larded with texts of Scripture, and, unless the preacher departed from the fashion of the time, with passages from the heathen writers, however much out of place they may seem in an orthodox discourse.

"When the bishop had concluded, the grand-inquisitor administered an oath to the assembled multitude, who on their knees solemnly swore to defend the Inquisition, to maintain the purity of the faith, and to inform against any one who should swerve from it. As Philip repeated an oath of similar import, he suited the action to the word, and, rising from his seat, drew his sword from its scabbard, as if to announce himself the determined champion of the Holy Office. In the earlier *autos* of the Moorish and Jewish infidels, so humiliating an oath had never been exacted from the sovereign.

"After this, the secretary of the tribunal read aloud an instrument reciting the grounds for the conviction of the prisoners, and the respective sentences pronounced against them. Those who were to be admitted to penitence, each, as his sentence was proclaimed, knelt down, and, with his hands on the missal, solemnly abjured his errors, and was absolved by the grand-inquisitor. The absolution, however, was not so entire as to relieve the offender from the penalty of his transgressions in this world. Some were doomed to perpetual imprisonment in the cells of the Inquisition, others to lighter penances. All were doomed to the confiscation of their property, — a point of too great moment to the welfare of the tribunal ever to be omitted. Besides this, in many cases the offender, and, by a glaring perversion of justice, his immediate descendants, were rendered for ever ineligible to public office of any kind, and their names branded with perpetual infamy. Thus blighted in fortune and in character, they were said, in the soft language of the Inquisition, to be *reconciled*.

"As these unfortunates were remanded, under a strong guard, to their prisons, all eyes were turned on the little company of

martyrs, who, clothed in the ignominious garb of the *san benito*, stood waiting the sentence of their judges, — with cords round their necks, and in their hands a cross, or sometimes an inverted torch, typical of their own speedy dissolution. The interest of the spectators was still further excited, in the present instance, by the fact that several of these victims were not only illustrious for their rank, but yet more so for their talents and virtues. In their haggard looks, their emaciated forms, and too often, alas! their distorted limbs, it was easy to read the story of their sufferings in their long imprisonment, for some of them had been confined in the dark cells of the Inquisition much more than a year. Yet their countenances, though haggard, far from showing any signs of weakness or fear, were lighted up with the glow of holy enthusiasm, as of men prepared to seal their testimony with their blood.

“When that part of the process showing the grounds of their conviction had been read, the grand-inquisitor consigned them to the hands of the *corregidor* of the city, beseeching him to deal with the prisoners *in all kindness and mercy*; a honeyed, but most hypocritical phrase, since no choice was left to the civil magistrate but to execute the terrible sentence of the law against heretics, the preparations for which had been made by him a week before.

“The whole number of convicts amounted to thirty, of whom sixteen were *reconciled*, and the remainder *relaxed* to the secular arm, — in other words, turned over to the civil magistrate for execution. There were few of those thus condemned who, when brought to the stake, did not so far shrink from the dreadful doom that awaited them, as to consent to purchase a commutation of it by confession before they died; in which case they were strangled by the *garrote*, before their bodies were thrown into the flames.

“Of the present number, there were only two whose constancy triumphed to the last over the dread of suffering, and who refused to purchase any mitigation of it by a compromise with conscience. The names of these martyrs should be engraven on the record of history.

“One of them was Don Carlos de Seso, a noble Florentine, who had stood high in the favor of Charles the Fifth. Being united with a lady of rank in Castile, he removed to that country, and took up his residence in Valladolid. He had become a convert to the Lutheran doctrines, which he first communicated to his own family, and afterwards showed equal zeal in propagating among the people of Valladolid and its neighborhood. In short, there was no man to whose untiring and intrepid labors the cause of the Reformed religion in Spain was more indebted. He was, of course, a conspicuous mark for the Inquisition.

"During the fifteen months in which he lay in its gloomy cells, cut off from human sympathy and support, his constancy remained unshaken. The night preceding his execution, when his sentence had been announced to him, De Seso called for writing materials. It was thought he designed to propitiate his judges by a full confession of his errors. But the confession he made was of another kind. He insisted on the errors of the Romish Church, and avowed his unshaken trust in the great truths of the Reformation: The document, covering two sheets of paper, is pronounced by the secretary of the Inquisition to be a composition equally remarkable for its energy and precision. When led before the royal gallery, on his way to the place of execution, De Seso pathetically exclaimed to Philip, 'Is it thus that you allow your innocent subjects to be persecuted?' To which the king made the memorable reply, 'If it were my own son, I would fetch the wood to burn him, were he such a wretch as thou art!' It was certainly a characteristic answer.

"At the stake De Seso showed the same unshaken constancy, bearing his testimony to the truth of the great cause for which he gave up his life. As the flames crept slowly around him, he called on the soldiers to heap up the fagots, that his agonies might be sooner ended; and his executioners, indignant at the obstinacy—the heroism—of the martyr, were not slow in obeying his commands.

"The companion and fellow-sufferer of De Seso was Domingo de Roxas, son of the Marquis de Poza, an unhappy noble, who had seen five of his family, including his eldest son, condemned to various humiliating penances by the Inquisition for their heretical opinions. This one was now to suffer death. De Roxas was a Dominican monk. It is singular that this order, from which the ministers of the Holy Office were particularly taken, furnished many proselytes to the Reformed religion. De Roxas, as was the usage with ecclesiastics, was allowed to retain his sacerdotal habit until his sentence had been read, when he was degraded from his ecclesiastical rank, his vestments were stripped off one after another, and the hideous dress of the *san benito* thrown over him, amid the shouts and derision of the populace. Thus apparelled, he made an attempt to address the spectators around the scaffold; but no sooner did he begin to raise his voice against the errors and cruelties of Rome, than Philip indignantly commanded him to be gagged. The gag was a piece of cleft wood, which, forcibly compressing the tongue, had the additional advantage of causing great pain while it silenced the offender. Even when he was bound to the stake, the gag, though contrary to custom, was suffered to remain in the mouth of De Roxas, as if his enemies dreaded the effects of an eloquence that triumphed over the anguish of death." — Vol. I. pp. 427–435.

The author's pen sets before us an elaborate account of that ecclesiastical policy by which, with demon-like cunning and persevering ruthlessness of cruelty, the Inquisition suppressed the spirit of free thought in Spain. Spain then had her opportunity among the nations of Europe, to welcome that breaking light of truth which, shining first upon the soul of man, glances next with its mild and genial beams upon all the interests that engage his mind, his heart, his enterprise, and his hands. Spain made her choice between accepting or resisting this light. Her retribution has been fearfully severe for her wrong choice. But is not her retribution just? Does it not convey to us, in the subdued tones of a long and a late avengement, the echoes of those unpitied sobs, and those heroic protests, and those patient martyrdoms, which attended the savage obsequies of Protestantism?

The larger portion of the continuous narrative of this work is devoted to the troubles in the Netherlands. Philip, on returning to Spain, left his natural sister, Margaret of Parma, in the regency, subject, however, to councils of advisers, of which Granvelle, an ambitious but wise, and afterwards a still wiser, ecclesiastic and minister, was the potent spirit. The method which Philip planned for the government, and the measures by which he had designed, through the establishment of the Inquisition and other ecclesiastical oppressions, to work out his own policy by his representatives, are detailed with great clearness by our author. So full and discriminating is the information offered to the reader, that his curiosity, highly wrought up into painful interest, is engaged to follow the development of the story as earnestly as if he were watching the course of an anxious issue not yet decided. Mr. Prescott gives us a very animated sketch of the condition of the Low Countries, in thrift and in wealth, in the character and distribution of their population in numerous splendid cities and industrious towns, in their manufactures, their mercantile eminence and commerce, and in the spirit and tendencies of the people. The Low Countries were indeed worth to Philip more than the Indies; they were the very gem of his crown. Our author enters with a noble spirit of discrimination and judicial impartiality upon the earlier incidents of that long-protracted and slowly ripening strife, which, involving the revolt of the

Netherlands, ended in their independence. The tale is complicated and is filled with tragedies. With all its striking remains of an antique architecture, and all its treasures of art, Belgium has no spectacle to attract the thoughtful visitor from this continent by a stronger hold upon his feelings than does the market-place where the loved and eminent Counts Egmont and Hoorne gave up their lives amid the groans and curses of the almost infuriated spectators. The groans expressed the anguish of the people at the execution of the two patriots who were all but adored by them. The curses were for the cruel Alva.

We acknowledge that the judicial calmness of Mr. Prescott, which, however, by no means passes into coldness, has exercised a discreet power over our own feelings as we read again, with the best light, the narrative of the troubles in the Netherlands. Counts Egmont and Hoorne were technically traitors. The ruthless Alva, and his yet more cruel master, were disciples of the Roman Church. Their loyalty to their faith was as sincere a sentiment as their hearts could entertain or yield to ;—it was their chivalry. Alva had given the best token of the power which that sentiment had over his heart, when, though victor, he bowed his neck and sued for pardon from the proud chief Pontiff. If the monarch and his viceroy were to govern, and if Spanish rule was to sway the Netherlands, and the Roman Church was to deepen its demon-like clutch upon the rising spirit of a free faith there, the policy pursued was the right one. Relentless as it was, unsparing, vengeful beyond any other epithet that can be used in describing it, it was consistent with its own cause and with its own aim. So far as the feeling of loyalty to king and Church can palliate the direful career of Alva, and so far as loyalty to the Church can cover this and other elements of the policy of Philip, they are entitled to a judgment which tries only the motive, and allows something for the blindness and passion which follow that motive, even when it has mistaken a fiendlike passion for a noble zeal. Nor were the instigators of the atrocious cruelties practised in the Netherlands wholly unexcused in their own eyes by provocations from the fanaticism of their opponents. When the spoilers of sanctuaries, the image-breakers, the robbers

of shrines, made a riot of sacrilege, and, not content with listening to the soul-stirring appeals of the first Protestant preachers, followed the bad advice of such mad zealots as Marnix, and proceeded to insult the fondest sanctities of their own land and their own brethren, they invited retribution. No tidings could have been borne to the king in Spain more suited to inflame his vengeance, and to warrant its exercise, to his own convictions, as a real inspiration, than those which related to him the violence of the iconoclasts in desecrating the churches, and in polluting the sacred symbols of the faith. And yet we may not forget that a sentiment of loyalty was also in the hearts of those goaded Protestants, the heralds of a freer and a wiser age, the experimenters under the first exercises of a spiritual faith. Their loyalty recognized a higher and more august sway than that of earthly king or pontiff. They, too, had convictions to follow, a sworn allegiance to God and truth to obey, and a cause to assert and lead on to triumph.

In close connection with an account of the fearfully consistent and unrelenting policy of Alva and his Council of Blood in the Netherlands, the author gives a most melting narrative of the cruel fate of Montigny in Spain, whither he had gone as an agent of the suffering party in the Low Countries. Following this is a highly dramatic and extended episode, relating the rise and growth, the strength and the hostile attitude, of the Ottoman Empire at a time when Philip II. was looked to as bound to be the barrier against its overrunning Europe. The siege of Malta by these infidel hosts and their piratical allies, with its defence by the Knights of St. John, fills a large space in Mr. Prescott's second volume. If it does not prove that this stirring episode is so fully recounted at the expense of curtailment for any other of the momentous incidents of Philip's reign, we certainly shall not regret the number of pages devoted to that exciting narrative. It is told with a marvellous power and fullness of detail, and is made to carry with it the burning interest of the reader. Nor indeed can any one fairly complain that the author has disproportionately treated this incident in his long story. If readers disposed to make that complaint had lived in Spain at the time

when it occurred, we are inclined to think that their dread of these Mussulman marauders and their allies would have borne about an equal proportion to the rest of their interests and fears. The description of the siege gives Mr. Prescott an admirable occasion for presenting to us one of the most renowned of the knightly orders of the time, with sketches of its most famous members and their discipline, as well as of developing some of the political intrigues and the mode of warfare of that age.

The last three chapters of the second volume have an intensely painful interest, as they are devoted to the ill-starred Don Carlos, and to the young Queen, who followed him so soon in death. Schiller, Alfieri, Otway, and others, have wrought that theme into their tragic numbers, and the world has given it a place among its saddest records of romance and of guilt. Mr. Prescott deals with it with the sympathies of a refined and a cultivated man, but with the stern fidelity of an historian. He tells us that the mystery is not yet cleared up. There is a sealed box yet to be discovered and opened. He, however, disposes satisfactorily of the popular invention that there was a wicked intimacy between Don Carlos and his step-mother. He describes the strange, disordered life of the Prince of the Asturias, his wilful youth and the excesses of his early manhood, his passionate acts and plots, involving suspicions of a purpose to lead the heretics in the Netherlands and an inclination to take the life of his father, and gives us a very elaborate account of his seizure and imprisonment by that father, with a rehearsal of the course pursued with him, of the method of his death, and the consequent behavior of the bereaved parent. What a scene is that which the historian paints to us, of the sick Don Carlos, while yet a youth, lying in his bed with the disentombed corpse of Didacius (afterwards St.) by his side, and the cold shroud taken from the skeleton to be bound around his fevered brow! Shall we ever know all the truth about the monarch and this son? We confess that the bold and unqualified charge afterwards made against Philip by the Prince of Orange, of having procured the death of Don Carlos and the Queen, prevails much with us in holding him guilty of the enormity as respects his son. We appreciate the rigid candor and the painstaking fidelity of our

historian in arbitrating upon this dread issue, after he has searched all his sources of accurate information and drawn his cautious inferences.

We think that our author has necessarily, as well as wisely, chosen, of the two courses or methods for his history, that which treats of events according to their subjects, rather than that which follows dates and arranges events chronologically. The history of the reign of a monarch whose kingdom embraced the Indies, the Low Countries, Franche Comté, Naples, and Milan, as well as Spain, and involved a world of exciting incidents and the fortunes of two generations, must necessarily shift from scene to scene, and drop the thread of one story to take up that of another. The reader must make some effort to bear in mind the contemporaneous procession of men and events in different places. He must assign to the same or to successive days, months, and years, the incidents which the historian is compelled to relate under pages widely separated, because he is writing the annals of an extended space of the earth. Thus Philip had on his heart the burden of Counts Egmont and Hoorne, and of Don Carlos, at the same time, and only a month intervened between the death of the two first and that of the last.

Mr. Prescott has yet, as we have already said, a long task before him, as thirty years of crowded and momentous interests remain to be chronicled. We hope that he will give us from his point of view, so favorable to truth and charity, at least one chapter on the Council of Trent, whose sessions were held between 1545 and 1564. He must give us another brilliant episode upon Philip's empire over this continent. He has opened the career of a monarch whose splendid possessions were within a hundred years afterwards stripped from the crown by the peace of the Pyrenees, of Aix la Chapelle, and of Nimeguen. He has yet to tell us of the rupture between Spain and England, of the disastrous fate of the "Invincible Armada," of the losses in America, of the capture of Cadiz, of the troubles in the Low Countries under the later regencies, and of Prince Maurice's success there, as well as of the campaigns and the assassination of William of Orange, in 1584, and of the treaty of Vervins with France, besides anatomizing and analyzing the

characters and the course of at least a score of the men of mark, who acted in these great dramas.

How glorious is the province of the historian! To him, more even than to the monarch of whose reign and realm he gives us so full and brilliant a chronicle, belongs the real empire, with its wealth and wisdom, its power and its resources, and its dominion over the feelings of men. We are the subjects of the historian while we read his pages. He extends our lives back through the past, and divides, with the prophet of the future, a sway over the souls of men.

It would be premature for us here to criticise the philosophical principles which Mr. Prescott develops or recognizes in this portion of an uncompleted work, though it is by far the boldest and the most exacting of his undertakings, and shows the growth of his own mind, and displays a power and grasp of thought beyond any other of his efforts. We admire most of all his measured and self-restrained deliberation of judgment, his calm impartiality, and his genial charity. He has a kind word even for "Bloody Mary"; he does not sentence even Alva as a monster, and what he will have to say of Philip at last, we know will not be without a warrant for severity beyond what his words will express. Mr. Prescott is not one of the intense writers of the No-Popery school. He is forbearing, judicious, and just. He is skilled in developing those intricate relations of principle and prejudice, and those minglings of motives, which, while they dim the glory of the best men, relieve the ignominy of the worst in the tortuous complications of public affairs. The philosophical lessons to be deduced and moralized upon from these chronicles of a half-century of the most pregnant annals of time are almost too large for any one mind to grasp. They ought rather to be left for monographs, and for specialties. That we shall have in this history, when completed, an adequate portraiture of the men and the times which it brings into our view, is but a reasonable expectation, assured by what is now in our hands.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Sin and Redemption: a Series of Sermons. To which is added an Oration on Moral Freedom. By D. N. SHELDON, D. D., Pastor of the Elm Street Baptist Church, in Bath, Me. New York: Sheldon, Lamport, and Blakeman. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1856. 12mo. pp. 332.

THIS book will engage attention, partly for its own sake, perhaps more from the position of its author. Dr. Sheldon stands high in the Baptist denomination, and was for some time President of Waterville College. Whether he resigned that office from his own preferences, or found that his theological tendencies were not agreeable to the friends of the College, we are not informed. Since leaving there he has been pastor of a Baptist church in Bath, and is said to carry most of his people with him in his views of truth and Christian doctrine. Those views, so far as declared in the volume before us, are decidedly anti-Calvinistic, and in harmony with those usually advocated in this journal. Not that we claim Dr. Sheldon as one of ourselves. He says nothing of Unity or Trinity, and we have no means of knowing how he stands in relation to that controversy. Nor are we anxious to know. The topics here treated are far more important than the question of Christ's or God's personal essence. The only declaration we remember on that point is found in the Preface to this volume, and bears upon the whole matter of the writer's creed.

"I have no sympathy with the timidity which may deter any from an open declaration of their views, because these views may be thought to conflict with an accredited standard of Orthodoxy. Though numbering myself with the Orthodox so called, on the subject of the Divinity of our Lord, and on other subjects, I must yet disavow altogether the binding authority of any extra-Scriptural definitions and statements of Orthodoxy. The only Orthodoxy which I venerate is truth, and what may be shown to have the marks of truth. I believe that much of the received dogmatic theology needs to be searchingly re-examined and amended. What is held a fundamental truth in ethics, must not be contradicted by anything in our theological systems. . . . Our faith in Scripture would receive a fearful recoil if Scripture were found, as it is not, teaching anything in conflict with our moral judgments; for deeper than our reverence for any external revelation, underlying this reverence and the chief foundation of it, must be our reverence for God and for moral truth."

After two discourses on the "Being of God shown from his

Works," and the "Creation of Man in the Divine Image,"—discourses which contain little that is original, and nothing to us objectionable,—Dr. Sheldon treats of the "Temptation and Fall," and their consequences to Adam's posterity. Those consequences he regards as wholly moral,—not physical, not penal, nor connected at all with inheritance or imputation. Adam was created as we are, and sinned as we sin; we are created as Adam was, and fall as he fell, through temptation and weakness. A difference of course there is in outward condition and moral exposure, but not a difference of nature or moral constitution. "I know of no shadow of a reason for supposing that any faculty or element was put into the constitution of Adam, which is not found now in the constitution of every living human being. Sure I am that there is not a hint in the Bible, Old Testament or New, that Adam had a single natural power or endowment which his descendants do not have." And in a further discourse on the "Threatened Death," the writer makes that death to be purely moral, having no relation to physical death, the law of mortality being a law of all organized beings, not beginning then, but existing and reigning "in the long period anterior to the creation of Adam." Not denying that the sin of the soul may affect the condition and dissolution of the body, he insists: "It is not to the credit of so many preachers and teachers of religion, that they still often speak of physical death, not only in men, but also in all animals, as the fruit of our first parents' sin; and it is time that, in this respect, a more Scriptural theology, better in harmony also with fact, with experience, and with nature, were taught."

The actual influence of Adam's disobedience on the sinfulness of his posterity, Dr. Sheldon illustrates, as Paul does, by the connection between Christ's obedience and the righteousness of the believer. Neither comes by divine decree or by transfer, or any kind of necessity. Both are alike free, moral, individual. "We are just as little made sinners without our agency, as we are restored to righteousness without our agency. Adam has just as little involved us in condemnation without our fault, as Christ delivers us from condemnation without our earnest co-operation." "Adam has exerted no irresistibly determining influence on the one side, and Christ exerts no such influence on the other side." "Too long has a large portion of the Christian Church lain under the incubus of an unsound and chilling theology in these respects. The nightmare must be thrown off, or the very lifeblood of intelligent piety will be congealed in death; and the Church, in just thinking, will fall behind the world, and be unfitted to guide it in the path of divine knowledge and understanding."

This is plain speaking, and we are glad there is here and there a man who dares to say what thousands think, but suppress from attachment to systems or fear of consequences. There is an immense amount of *concealed truth* in the religious mind of the predominant sects. In saying this, we charge no fraud, nor judge the motive. We speak only of the fact and the effect; and we fear the effect is much the same as if the concealed truth were a virtual falsehood. Why is it not a virtual falsehood, if the real conviction is just the opposite of the declared system and supposed belief? For example, David's account of himself, as "shapen in iniquity," and Paul's language, "by nature children of wrath," are still retained and repeated, in creed and the pulpit, without any explanation, and in a way to convey to the people the impression, not only that David and Paul meant to represent by them the native depravity and sinfulness of all men, but also that this is the belief of those who quote the words; whereas probably every intelligent speaker and hearer believes, as Dr. Sheldon does, that the Psalmist was only using the "earnest and hyperbolic language which deep feeling naturally prompts," and that the Apostle "has in view the degrading habits and vices common among the heathen." We have little doubt that the vast majority of the Christians of this day, (ample evidence of the fact do we find also in the writings of the early Christians,) while they hold to the doctrine of human depravity in some form, as all do, would, if they expressed themselves frankly and definitely, speak of proper "original sin" as severely as this writer does: "We reject both the idea and the term. We hold the idea to be wholly imaginary, and the term, as it has commonly been used, nonsensical. We deny the existence of any other sin than actual voluntary sin."

With equal explicitness does Dr. Sheldon give his views of the Atonement, in two discourses entitled "How Christ was made Sin," and "How Men are made Righteous by Christ." A few brief passages will show his interpretation of such language, and show likewise, as we believe, the Gospel truth. "Christ was not made sin, nor treated as a sinner, on the ground that his sufferings and death were necessary to make the exercise of the Divine mercy to men consistent with the maintenance of Divine justice. Christ did not come on earth and die for the purpose of removing an obstacle in the Divine government, in the way of extending pardon to the penitent. Where do we find a single intimation of an obstacle in the mind of God, or in the order of his government, in the way of extending forgiveness to men who turn from their sins? In what chapter and verse is it said, that this forgiveness of the penitent cannot be, unless something else, the interposition of Christ, first is?" "The

manifestation of Christ in the flesh, his teaching, example, and death for us, cannot in strictness be called an atonement, or a reconciliation; they are more properly means of effecting an atonement. Or if, in conformity with present popular usage, we lodge an objective atonement in the work of Christ, we should always be careful to explain this as consisting in the value of his work, as a means, in connection with the preaching of the Gospel, of bringing men to repentance and salvation. The value of the Gospel of Christ lies in the fact, that it is able, by the blessing of God, to work this great change in us."

In commenting upon the passage, so constantly quoted, in which Paul speaks of Christ as a "propitiation," (Rom. iii. 25,) Dr. Sheldon says: "It exhibits Christ in the light in which we have already viewed him, as the great vehicle of the Divine mercy to the believing. Certainly he was not a propitiation, in the sense that he rendered God propitious; for this would imply that he effected a change in God, which is an impossible thing. He simply declared the Divine propitiousness in conjunction with the Divine righteousness, in such a way as to recover the believing to righteousness."

Once more, in regard to retribution, we have the following: "We conclude, therefore, that there may be all sorts of degrees in the bitter recollections and self-accusing reflections of the lost, in the future world. The state of each one there will be put in correspondence with his character here. No one will suffer more than the ends of righteousness may require. No one will experience a worse doom than he will see that he has created for himself."

We have quoted thus freely from this volume, that we might do no injustice to the author. Yet we are aware that such passages, taken from the body of well-arranged discourses, cannot do full justice to any writer; and we the more earnestly commend the book to all who would see these great themes fairly discussed, and from a different point of view from that occupied by ourselves. Dr. Sheldon tells us that these opinions are not recently adopted, but have been held by him, wholly or in part, and also taught, through his whole public life. Even in the theological school he was led "to a most decisive rejection of the theories with regard to the imputation of sin and righteousness." It is pleasant to believe that such views are held and inculcated by many teachers, heard quietly and accepted by many societies, of whom we do not hear, and whose names convey no idea of the truth they hold. There may yet be found more agreement in essentials, and more independence of creed, than any have suspected.

The volume closes with two occasional discourses: one,

delivered before the New York Baptist Union, in Rochester, 1854, and differing in many of its views of "Ministerial Education" from the previous discourse of Dr. Wayland on the same occasion, to which reference is made; the other, and last, an oration before the Literary Societies of Waterville College, last August, on "Moral Freedom," — a topic not common for such occasions, but discussed in a free, manly spirit.

Mortimer's College Life. By E. J. MAY, Author of "Louis's School Days," etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 16mo. pp. 344.

THIS story, like most of those which have emanated from the same source, the Evangelical section of the English Church, is marked by such opposite characteristics, that it is hard to know whether to praise or to condemn it. Its morality is pure, while its theology is harsh and narrow; it is amiable in its bigotry, canting in its charity, affluent in its use of Scripture phrases, but most inaccurate in their application. Its hero is an excellent, though rather weak youth, who gets on and becomes eminent, more through exceeding piety than through courage or industry. The title of the story is a misnomer, since considerably less than one third of the volume is devoted to the college life of Mr. Mortimer, and of this life the details, with the exception of an evening or two of religious conversation, a dinner in the hall, and a somewhat feeble sort of "row," are next to nothing. The characters of the book, too, are so mixed up, and so carelessly drawn, that it is impossible to be interested in any of them; and the combination of sacred and profane subjects is very odd, not to say grotesque. The tone of the religious talk is at once dogmatic and timid, positive in its assertions, but dreadfully afraid of free discussion. We are told (on p. 266) that "there are fundamental doctrines on which no true Christian can differ. The doctrine of the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity; the full, perfect satisfaction of the sacrifice of the blood of Christ; the entire ruin of man at the fall. There can be *no mistake* about these." These are very simple and easy doctrines. But there are "some abstruse and mysterious difficulties, which seem to constitute the whole religion of some people, and with which they not unfrequently distress and perplex the tender mind of a child of Christ." We infer from what is subsequently said, that these "abstruse and mysterious difficulties" are, whether candles ought to be burned on the altar, whether it is right for the priest to pray toward the east,

whether he ought to preach in a gown or a surplice, and the like. These are indeed distressing problems.

Mr. Mortimer has had, as he admits, but small opportunity to learn what the Bible *means*, or what *sects* specially believe,—has never really cared to *study* theology, though he has become a powerful preacher. We learn his opinion of Unitarians in a conversation which he has with Miss Fanny Salisbury, his future wife,—a young lady who resembles, in astuteness and good sense, some of her sex whom we have known nearer home. Miss Fanny does not want to be “presumptuous.” She is not troubled by the “Romanists,” for they have “no Bible at all.” Nor has she “felt any danger from Unitarians. As Dr. Arnold says, it is like touching a corpse, so cold, so lifeless, it always makes me shudder. I had a Unitarian school-fellow, poor girl ! But you know, Mr. Mortimer, a child with a Bible may upset a Unitarian or a Romanist ; and *of the two, the last is the best.*” To which profound remark the young clergyman replies : “It always seems to me that that dreadful Socinian doctrine is one that does not admit of the slightest outward fellowship. ‘Have no fellowship with works of darkness’ is the command. We are certainly too apt to be careless of God’s honor in matters of social intercourse.” The only differences which disturb this charitable divine are “differences between Bible Christians.”

The word “error” is a favorite word with writers of this school. They speak of “tinctures of error,” and *mixture* of error, as if they were religious apothecaries. “Dinner” is another favorite word. After a spicy theological argument, in which good sense is of course vanquished by “crushing texts,” the disputants usually retire to “dress for dinner.” *Death* is generally represented as an awful calamity,—a penalty for the neglect of God’s commandment. We are informed (on p. 101), that “King Asa, when diseased in his feet, sought to the physicians, and not to the Lord, and what was the sequel ? HE DIED !” In the language of this school, the condemnation which Jesus pronounced upon the wicked is “beautiful and animating.” *Antichrist* with them means Dissent in general. Fear is the approved motive, and we are to keep God’s commands “fearfully.” The fact that they belong to the *Low Church* party does not imply any abatement of aristocratic rank. There are no plebeians among the favored characters of this book. The names are high-sounding : Trevannion, Salisbury Vernon, Nevinson, Mortimer. Poor Ferrers slips out of sight, and Rev. Mr. Strangeways turns out, as might be expected, a mere malicious Calvinist, worse than a Puseyite.

But we are giving the volume, perhaps, a longer notice than it deserves, though undoubtedly its republication by a respecta-

ble New York house will give to it a wide circulation, especially among pious Calvinistic readers, who will learn from it to hate heresy with a more holy horror. The literary merits of the book are fair. Some queer expressions we have noted ; as where it is said man " is meant to progress : I feel my existence is to mount " ; — and (on p. 149) where we are told that one of the Oxford dining-halls " was hung round with numerous portraits of benevolent founders and *great guns*." If the first chapter had been omitted, we might suppose, on beginning the second, that Mr. James had given us another novel. It is quite refreshing to meet that *solitary horseman* again on a bright, peaceful summer evening.

Religion in Common Life : a Sermon. By the REV. JOHN CAIRD, M. A., Minister of Errol. Published by Her Majesty's Command. Edinburgh and London : William Blackwood and Sons. 1855.

ONE of the amiable weaknesses of the gracious sovereign of England is a propensity to invite Dissenting preachers to the chapel of Buckingham Palace, to the great scandal of the prelates, who claim the proper charge of royalty. The Queen is evidently not quite satisfied with the decent dullness of the Established Church, and loves the freer and fresher utterances of the Scotch divines. To which school of the Scotch Church Mr. Caird belongs, we are not informed ; but his rhetoric and his doctrine are a very considerable improvement upon the diffuse and verbose homilies by which Dr. Cumming has gained his fame of pulpit eloquence. The "command" of her Majesty in this instance will be approved by discriminating readers. The truths of the discourse are wholesome and timely in a royal household, and rebuke not very gently those sins of heartlessness, formality, and empty show of religion, which are the besetting sins of aristocratic society. Mr. Caird believes that practical Christianity is *active* Christianity, and that it is a great deal better than the religion of *creed* or *ritual*. He pleads for week-day piety, not as shown in many prayers, but in purity of life and in works of charity. He drops all the technical terms of the Calvinistic pulpit, all the phraseology of salvation by plan, and insists that a simple, constant, unwearied doing of duty, according to one's best light, is the service which God accepts. His style is chaste, clear, and eloquent, and his illustrations are always in good taste, and always to the point. We trust that he will preach many more such sermons in the high places of England, and that the same "command" will continue to follow

their delivery. If so, the reigning house of England may yet become Unitarian. We hope to see a sermon so honored in England, and so worthy of the honor, republished on this side of the water.

Lanmere. By MRS. JULIA R. C. DORR, Author of *Farmingdale*. New York: Mason Brothers. 1856. 12mo. pp. 447.

THIS is an interesting story; somewhat too minute in its details, perhaps, and not wrought up with remarkable power, yet unexceptionable in its moral tone and impression, which is more than can be said of some other issues of its publishers. It is especially to be commended as exhibiting the unamiable temper and unhealthy fruits of a very common form of religiousness. The "Christians" of this book are not narrow bigots or stately formalists, but are excellent, large-hearted, rational men and women, who love justice, and forgiveness, and uprightness, wherever found. Our chief objection to the book is in the poetic headings to the chapters, many of which are inapplicable, and all of which are needless. The list is rather miscellaneous. We have Shakespeare and Willis, Longfellow and Miss Sproat.

The State of the Soul between Death and the Resurrection. By REV. PHINEAS BLAKEMAN, North Madison, Conn. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1855. 18mo. pp. 114.

THIS little volume differs considerably in its views of the Intermediate state from the imaginary revelations of the lamented John F. Lane of San Francisco, by which Judge Edmonds was so "hocussed." Its views, on the whole, are sound, rational, and agreeable. Mr. Blakeman is not, certainly, a very gifted expositor of Scripture. We cannot consent to the unquestionable force of his Bible argument for a disembodied existence, or take the conversation of Dives with Lazarus as convincing evidence that "souls" talk with each other. We cannot find in the Transfiguration, or the Apocalyptic vision, or the letters of St. Paul, surely not as Mr. Blakeman cites them, "clear and satisfactory evidence that the soul does not remain unconscious until the morning of the resurrection." But when this first feeble Scriptural chapter is despatched, the remaining chapters may be read with pleasure, as a simple statement of that which is most probable about the condition of the soul after it is separated from the body. The views are not profound or original, but they are much more sensible than the stuff which passes current

now as "spiritual" literature. We prefer the good, honest, homely utterances of Mr. Blakeman to anything that the recent prophets have told forth, or to the last announcements even of Bacon, Shakespeare, and Zoroaster, as filtered through entranced "mediums."

Selections from the Writings of WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR.

Edited by GEORGE STILLMAN HILLARD. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1856. 16mo. pp. 308.

MR. HILLARD has rendered a real service to every lover of polite literature by the preparation of this volume. Under appropriate titles, he has collected in a compact and elegant form some of the many striking thoughts which are scattered through the voluminous writings of this profound and original thinker. For such a task few persons possess higher qualifications than Mr. Hillard. His ripe and varied culture, his intimate acquaintance with English literature, and his exquisite taste in all literary matters, are a sufficient guaranty that the task would be discharged with fidelity and good judgment. To these most necessary qualifications of an editor, he joins, moreover, a hearty respect and admiration for his author; and the volume not only exhibits marks of his excellent taste in all the selections, but it also affords abundant evidence that its preparation has been a work of love. The different selections, as we have intimated, are distributed under different titles, — Politics and Government; Literature and Criticism; Love, Friendship, and the Domestic Affections; and Miscellaneous. And reference to them is still further facilitated by the addition of a carefully prepared Index. Indeed, the editor seems to have neglected no effort to make the selections worthy of his author and of his own reputation. The admirable discrimination displayed in the choice and arrangement of the different passages, and the faultless beauty of its typography, must commend the volume to the most fastidious judges of books.

Landor is generally admitted to be one of the most profound and thoughtful writers of the age; but there is something repellent in his productions to a large class of persons. With many passages of splendid eloquence, which must move the most sluggish readers, it is to be regretted that his style should so often become dry, hard, and uninviting. With such large and liberal views on many topics, it is even more to be regretted that he should so often be swayed by his prejudices. The form which he has chosen to give to a considerable portion of his works is also one which is open to weighty objections, and is not upon the

whole attractive. A scholar and a recluse, Mr. Landor has not sought to give to his writings a popular form, to polish his style, or to subdue his prejudices. It was therefore especially necessary in his case that some competent person should do precisely what Mr. Hillard has here accomplished, in a manner which must for ever render any further selection from Landor superfluous, except in the way of additions to this volume. The result of his labors will be to open to public appreciation the rich treasures of a writer who never could become popular through his own books.

Patriarchy; or, The Family: its Constitution and Probation.

By JOHN HARRIS, D. D., President of New College, London, and Author of "Pre-Adamite Earth," etc., etc. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. New York: Sheldon, Lamport, and Blakeman. 1855.

DR. HARRIS is very widely and very favorably known as an able, judicious, and earnest writer upon religious and ethical themes in their relations to modern science as well as to practical life. The present work is moderate and truly Catholic in its theological statements, and full of sound common sense, though we cannot claim for it any brilliancies of style or illustration. It seems to us, moreover, that the author would have gained directness and point, besides something in the crowning merit of brevity, had he suffered the patriarchs of whom we know so very little to rest in the obscurity to which Providence has consigned them, and confined himself to a discussion of the family as it exists in the world at this time. After all, what advantage is there in trying to make out a patriarchal dispensation as a distinct method of Providence with the human race? We have only the most meagre materials for any such undertaking. Nevertheless, for a large class of readers this plan of the work may add greatly to its value and attractiveness, and at all events it can do no harm.

Christian Theism: the Testimony of Reason and Revelation to the Existence and Character of the Supreme Being. By ROBERT ANCHOR THOMPSON, M. A. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1855. 12mo. pp. 477.

WHEN a man comes to us strong in faith, testifying to a vision of God with the eye of the soul, it is good to listen, even though he may not be one of the wisest and mightiest; but when a

man comes reasoning, arguing about God, endeavoring to add to our faith knowledge, we do not care to hear him unless his thoughts are of the largest and deepest. We are always fearful lest the great fundamental article of faith, without which the world must suffer wreck, may be confounded with the arguments about this article, which may be overthrown and drag down nothing with them. Books of natural theology, except so far as they contain striking and pleasant illustrations from the vast storehouse of creation, are for the most part very dull, and, as it seems to us, unprofitable reading. We do not know that "Christian Theism" is any less interesting than its predecessors in the same line, but we are certain that it is not any more so, and although it is by no means a book devoid of merit, we cannot regard it as likely to leave any mark upon the mind of our time, or to convert a single Atheist or Deist. We wonder that the learned judges could find it deserving of the famous Burnett Prize.

Life of George Washington. By WASHINGTON IRVING. Vol. II. New York : G. P. Putnam & Co. 1855. 8vo. pp. 518. Boston : Frederick Parker, Cornhill, Agent.

WE wait for the yet remaining volume of this long expected and heartily welcomed work before indulging ourselves in that extended estimate and criticism of it which its prominent place in our literature may well demand. The spontaneous and universal judgment of all classes in our community who concern themselves with such themes is, that Washington Irving was the proper man to write a popular biography of George Washington. And the highest expectation which this acclaim would have indicated as setting the standard of excellence in the work to be done, has been gratefully acknowledged to have been realized. Nor has there been any forgetfulness of our prior obligations to Mr. Sparks. His voluminous and thorough work will never be superseded, except it may be in some possible work of larger and fuller compass, which shall swallow it up and appropriate all his pioneer toil, and avail itself of the incidental lights which his research and his method have brought to bear on his subject. But it is not to be denied that Mr. Irving's pen is most facile in just such composition and detail and description as are most requisite in the relation of at least three fifths of all that is to be told concerning Washington. His charming style, the graces of his spirit, the undertone of sentiment, the delicacy with which censure is conveyed, and the quiet humor which gleams here and there, as a set-off to the dignity and precision of most of the narrative, must win the delighted interest of every reader.

The volume before us covers only one year and a half of the lifetime of its subject. But what a crowded and momentous space of his existence it was ! From the summer of 1775 to the close of 1776 constitutes the period. It opens with the signal event — and yet what event was not a signal one in the life of that man ? — of Washington's taking the command of the American troops at Cambridge, and relates the vexations and discouragements under which he, whom the Congress had made a General, proceeded to make for himself an army. New men, men of subsequent renown, and men not destined to the purest fame in their country's story, now come upon the scene, and Mr. Irving has to introduce them to his readers with such comments as his own calm judgment of them dictates. Stirring events, dark and bright, now plunging the bold hope of a perilled cause into almost rayless darkness, now flashing with an inspiring confidence upon the hearts of patriots, have to be narrated. Guiding and improving them all, — we would say *overruling* them, did not that word stand consecrated to the Providence above, — Washington in his noble simplicity and his lofty purity of soul comes before us ; and everything that is told us of his purposes or of his methods exalts our thought of him. Will not Mr. Irving need at least two more volumes, to insure the symmetrical completion of his elegant work ?

A First-Class Reader ; consisting of Extracts, in Prose and Verse, with Biographical and Critical Notices of the Authors. For the Use of Advanced Classes in Public and Private Schools. By G. S. HILLARD. Boston : Hickling, Swan, and Brown. 1856. 12mo. pp. 504.

THIS volume, as its title indicates, has been prepared with a special reference to its use as a school-book ; and as such it fully meets all the requirements for the class of books to which it belongs. But it may also be regarded as a collection of elegant extracts, which will be read with pleasure by persons of mature years. Nor is it easy to determine under which aspect it should be regarded with the more favor. Mr. Hillard's familiarity with our best literature has enabled him to bring together a body of selections from our elder and our more recent authors, most of which have never before appeared in a similar compilation. To the selections from each writer he has prefixed a brief biographical and critical notice, giving the leading facts in the author's life, with some judicious remarks on his principal works. These notices are written with great judgment and taste, and are models of graceful composition. They constitute one of the

most pleasing features in the volume ; and every person who takes it up for an hour's reading will feel grateful to Mr. Hillard for the labor bestowed on them. In order to adapt the compilation to the use for which it was intended, occasional omissions have been made, and words have been sometimes changed in the pieces selected. These omissions and changes have been made with great discrimination ; and no one who is familiar with English literature will doubt the necessity of such a revision, even of the writings of the most celebrated authors. The selections number more than one hundred and fifty pieces, drawn from nearly as many different writers, and are judiciously arranged according to their subjects, and in a progressive order. Among the authors are many of the most distinguished writers in our language.

Cyclopædia of American Literature ; embracing Personal and Critical Notices of Authors, and Selections from their Writings, from the Earliest Period to the Present Day : with Portraits, Autographs, and other Illustrations. By EVERT A. DUYKINCK and GEORGE L. DUYKINCK. New York : Charles Scribner. 1855. Two vols. Royal 8vo. pp. 676, 781.

THE editors of this laborious work are eminently deserving of the gratitude of that extended multitude of readers for whose instruction they have so conscientiously completed an undertaking which but very few persons would have ventured even to propose. However much or little of assistance the Messrs. Duykinck may have had in the details of their work, the whole credit of it belongs to them. Of course they have had to rely much upon the suggestions and the help of others, even in many cases to the extent of accepting, and to a degree indorsing, the opinions and the judgments passed upon some of the authors included in their volumes. If perfection be taken as the standard for deciding upon the merits of the work, it would not endure the test. Complaints will doubtless be raised in some circles, that men and women who were and are eminently deserving of extended notice in it are not even mentioned by name. This complaint, too, may be urged in consistency with the avowed condition of the comprehensive method of the work, which was to include all American authors who had produced one or more books. The names of several persons who have written some of the most valuable books in our literature occur to us, for which we look in vain. None but sour critics will charge that the editors have intentionally omitted such as these, for the sake of having room left to rescue from oblivion, or to attempt hopelessly to force into notice, authors whose title-pages are their own

gravestones. The editors are above any such miserable motive. Whether they have too softly yielded to the solicitations of others leading them in this direction, we cannot positively affirm, but we should think it likely, and should rather lay it to the account of their liberality and generosity of purpose, than refer it to any bias or partiality. Then, too, the epithets used to convey criticisms, to mete out praise, or to apportion judgment, whether employed by the editors or by their contributors, often touch upon very delicate ground. Numerous mistakes in dates and matters of fact were to be expected; we have found such, and rather wonder that there are no more. With all these abatements, we still pronounce upon the work a high encomium. It had to traverse a wide field of exploration, as a pioneer, doing a vast deal of dry, uninviting, and tasteless work. Some persons will prize most its memorials of the long dead, while others will prefer its records of the living or of the recently departed. It is a noble monument of zeal, industry, and devotion to the interests of literature. Its faults and defects are comparatively trifling, easy of remedy in a new and revised edition. Its commendable qualities are numerous and of a high order. Detraction may find in it ready materials for its exercise, but generous critics will extend to the editors a grateful approbation.

Memoir of THOMAS HANDASYD PERKINS; containing Extracts from his Diaries and Letters. With an Appendix. By THOMAS G. CARY. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1855. 8vo. pp. 304.

THAT noble-souled man, whose image as he walked in life is vividly brought before us in the striking portrait which serves as a frontispiece to this volume, has found an appropriate memorial in these pages. Mr. Cary has given us what may be called, emphatically, the biography of a merchant of the first and highest class. Written in the best taste and style for such a composition, all its contents are conformed to the sort of character and life which it is designed to portray. With but a brief reference — which we wish had been fuller — to the early years of Mr. Perkins, the Memoir proceeds to take us through his career in middle life, as with an enterprise, a wisdom, and an integrity of equally marked prominence in his character he laid the foundations for a fortune for himself, and for a hundred others. Mr. Perkins voyaged and travelled largely, at a period when so wide a wanderer was thrown on his own resources far more than he is now, depending upon his own judgment, his own ingenuity and schemes for opening avenues to profitable commerce. His

residence in France, at a time of intense interest in political and social life, found him a wise observer of what was passing before him. His journal and letters make records of several very interesting facts, which do not enter into our histories. His remarkable benevolence and generosity, of which his fellow-citizens have so many striking evidences, were manifested in his life abroad, one very touching evidence of which will engage the feelings of the reader as he peruses the story of the Conscript of Morlaix. If Boston has been favored with such a number of honored and princely merchants of the old school, who were trained without the aid and excitement furnished by memoirs of their predecessors, what sort of a race ought the city now to produce, with Appleton, Lawrence, and Perkins for their examples?

Six Sermons. By GEORGE F. SIMMONS. Boston and Cambridge : James Munroe & Co. 1856. pp. 134. 12mo.

HERE are six sermons upon Omnipresence, Word made Flesh, The Holy Spirit, Pure Religion, Christ in the Storm, and Humility. Five of them were prepared by the writer for the press, as the wasting hand of sickness laid him down on the bed of death; the other was added after his lamented decease, to promote variety, we suppose, and prompt us, as it does, to desire many more. Each of these farewell words justifies the most earnest view of Mr. Simmons's ability, and explains at the same time the secret of his seeming failure.

In the Preface he says, "Though these are public discourses, they are in fact my own sincerest private meditations on some of the great mysteries of existence"; and in the close, "If they warm your soul as they have glowed in my own, accept the gift; if not, put up the book with a smile of charity, not with ridicule or reproof, of which I have no fear."

A better key than these introductory sayings could not be given to a book or a character. More original meditations we have found nowhere: each discourse, even that upon the hackneyed subject of Humility, is wholly peculiar; even if the main thread is not, as in the sermon on the First of John, one which no other hand would have twisted into a pulpit address, yet the current of thought is novel, as in the argument for spiritual influences; or the applications have an entire freshness, as in the topic which closes the too brief volume, upon the text, "Whoever shall humble himself shall be exalted."

The twofold judgment which almost every sympathizing reader will involuntarily pass serves as a test of the friendly notices taken in this and other journals of this somewhat re-

markable life, whose "*In memoriam*" is this small but precious book. The second discourse will be read again and again, so as, if possible, to grasp the singular conception given of the Logos, which is used, according to Mr. Simmons, "not as an element of philosophical speculation, but in the meditateness of a mystic piety, which makes the Gospel occasionally abstruse, and invests the language of the text as it were with a heavenly mist." Yet, when repeated reading leaves one a little uncertain as to his reception of the preacher's thought, it is only too evident that, preached to a miscellaneous audience, even with the most beautiful intonation and the most engaging address, it must have failed of effect. The sermon on the Spirit, which to some would appear quite orthodox, and to others entirely transcendental, labors under the same difficulty; while the closing portion is alike practical and beautiful, the body of thought eludes one's grasp and blinds the common eye with a golden mist. It is evidently the preacher's secret musing, breathed from his own quickened bosom into those only which the Divine hand has attuned to a like melody, — an appropriate parting gift to all who cherish his memory, but not a stirring appeal to our materialistic society and our outlying life.

As we welcome this parting "gift" among our literary treasures, and rejoice to think it will find its cheering way to many a kindred spirit, it is with a mingled sentiment of sadness and joy. The Liberal pulpit of our country has often had to rejoice, even if with trembling, over its chartered freedom, honesty, and bravery of utterance, — has possessed its confessors, almost martyrs, — has been adorned by men of original talent, who forgot the favor and the frown of men so they might declare the whole counsel of God. Still, there is a feeling we cannot escape of sadness over a life closed so early, with so little marked results, with expectations of friends not half fulfilled, and visions of influence hardly begun to be realized. Yet such is earth.

Physical Geography. By R. M. ZORNLIN. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co. 1855. 16mo. pp. 176.

THIS is a valuable manual upon a most interesting subject. Next to the soul and its encasement, the body, nothing perhaps is more calculated to interest than this earth, upon which that body finds its habitation and its home. Descriptive Geography treats of the earth in all its aspects, its atmosphere and winds, its surface of land and water, its volcanoes and internal fires, its climates, its races of men, its animals and plants. It deals with

every physical science ; and intimate acquaintance with its details implies extensive scientific attainment. To master such a subject requires a degree of leisure, and a love of study, which fall to the lot of but few. We are, therefore, especially grateful to those who embody the practical results of such study for popular use.

Such is the little compend of Mrs. Zornlin, a writer well known in Europe for her labors in this direction. It is well adapted for the use of schools, and also for private reference. It is a comprehensive digest of each science that pertains to the materials, forms, and inhabitants of the earth's surface ; with just sufficient detail to impress prominent facts and results upon the mind. As a book it is highly suggestive, exciting an interest which prompts to further researches in other larger and kindred works. At the same time, we return from such researches with renewed satisfaction at the completeness and thoroughness with which we find the results of more extended studies here condensed, and embodied for reference and use.

As a school-book, it requires, perhaps, from the teacher, additional explanation and illustration. But such ought to be, to some extent, the character of a school manual. No book should obviate the necessity of all labor and explanation. If, as a text-book, it excite attention, and rouse curiosity, — if it lead the pupil to question and inquire, — it answers the great end of all teaching. Too happy will the well-qualified instructor be to impart the necessary additional information ; and, if not competent, only too grateful for a manual to direct his own researches.

The book is well got up, in compact shape, upon good paper, and with clear type. It is more firmly bound, too, than most school-books of our times, and seems well calculated to stand the wear and tear of school use.

Sermons : chiefly Occasional. By CHARLES LOWELL, Senior Minister of the West Church in Boston. Boston : Ticknor and Fields. 1855. 12mo. pp. 329.

THE vehicles for imparting "religious intelligence" have made a record of services commemorative of the completion of a half-century's pastorate by the venerated author of these Sermons. We enter into no criticism of them. They are characteristic of their author ; and that is giving them character enough to those who know him. Sermons are not the only contents of this volume. More than half of them are accompanied by appendices which give us much valuable historical, anti-

quarian, and biographical information. The West Church is, of course, the central object around which such information is gathered, though the writer has a fond regard for this department of a scholar's lore as concerns all churches and all denominations of Christians. But we had better stop ; as in the very last sentence written we have transgressed against the doctrine of one of these excellent Sermons, which is, that the name Christian should be the only denomination of those who desire or are worthy to bear that.

The Communion Sabbath. By NEHEMIAH ADAMS, D. D. Boston : John P. Jewett & Co. 1856. 8vo. pp. 208.

WE should be sorry to have to avow that the occasional obtrusion in this volume of phrases and sentences ascribing to Christ "the honor which belongeth to God only" could detract from our otherwise high appreciation of its singularly refined and devout spirit. We have read it to our profit and to our best edification. Its themes are such as are appropriate to the preparation of thought and spirit for partaking in the Lord's Supper, for the occupation of mind and heart during the service, and for fixing its impressions for subsequent influence over the life ; while at the same time the subjects which are presented in the volume, and the mode of their treatment, are eminently suited to touch the affections, or to rebuke the indifference, or to quicken the consciences, of those who turn away from the Saviour's invitation. The style of the volume is chaste and beautiful, simple and fervent. Dr. Adams makes us realize anew the wealth of Scripture in its suggestiveness of fresh thought, and in those unexhausted riches of truth, of sentiment, and of wisdom which freshen every sacred lesson that is to be taught on the authority of the Word. We find on the same page of this volume apothegms of condensed wisdom, illustrations of singular aptness and beauty, and stirring appeals which at once arouse the latent forces of the heart. There is tenderness, earnestness, and marked intellectual power, according as the varying relations of the subject make them suited to the tone of the address, moment by moment. The whole intent and effect of the volume is to make Christ precious to the believer, and none the less so to one who believes Christ to have received his gifts and graces from the Father, instead of holding to the unscriptural view always implied and often asserted by Dr. Adams, that what the Bible says of Christ it says of God.

Glances and Glimpses ; or Fifty Years' Social, including Twenty Years' Professional Life. By HARRIOT K. HUNT, M. D.
Boston : John P. Jewett & Co. 1856. 8vo. pp. 418.

WE read the first three quarters of this volume with a pleasant interest, and with the most consenting sympathy with the writer of it. Her description of her childhood, education, and experiences in the happy family life, and of her neighborly relations at the "North End" of Boston, some forty years ago, is evidently truthful, and therefore engaging. The story of family reverses and struggles, of her own noble efforts, and of the consequent happiness which followed, is told with delightful simplicity, and quickens answering sentiments of esteem in the heart of her reader. The illness of her sister, the experiments of the sick-chamber, and the secondary trials incident to a long and unsuccessful course of medical treatment, are related in a way to facilitate our readiness to recognize a healing mission and a healing gift in women. Indeed, there is nothing new, in spite of the startled tone in which offended conservatism often declaims against it as an innovation, in the assertion of the peculiar fitness of women for some of the functions of the medical profession to their own sex. In the Middle Ages it would seem that at least four fifths of all such requisite service was performed by females. The confusion of sex and grammar in the phrase which designates "a man midwife," is a striking token that men, not women, have been the trespassers out of their own province, and the intruders upon the province of the other sex. The famous Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, who made such strife in our infant Colony by her theological teachings, had previously been known and highly approved here as "a helpful woman," in the very work which Miss Dr. Hunt now claims for her sex. We are pleased, too, to note her good sense, sound judgment, and entire freedom from all sweeping, indiscriminate censoriousness against the medical profession as now practised. We sympathize with all that she writes, till she comes to involve herself with some of the questionable views of the Woman's Rights party. There we leave her, and, if we do not mistake, her own clear, good sense, and her excellent judgment and practical wisdom, will sooner or later draw her off from the fellowship of those females who would amount to a sore nuisance if there were not, happily, so few of them. We assure our readers, male and female, that the book before us is well worthy of their perusal. We have heard much in commendation of the writer, and, with the single exception above referred to, we like her ourselves, though we never saw her, and know her only by repute and by this volume.

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Messrs. LITTLE, BROWN, & Co. are fulfilling their promise of issuing a series of volumes embracing "The British Essayists." With a most competent editor, whose able and thorough culture enables him to furnish such introductory memoirs and such illustrative notes as are requisite for the information of the reader, we feel that we are justified in pronouncing this to be the most desirable edition of these pleasing productions that has ever been undertaken. Beginning with *The Tatler*, in four volumes, we now have *The Spectator*, in eight. The volumes are of the most convenient size for the use for which they are designed, as travelling companions, or as suited to a fireside use when one wishes to hold a book without the aid of the table, and therefore prefers a small one. It is usual to commend *The Spectator* to a new generation, on the ground of its good English style, the purity of its language, and the felicitous construction of its sentences. Of course we do not question this well-established advice of those best authorized to give advice. And yet we would not recommend a close imitation of this style, for we should not desire to have a new school of writers confined to it. It has its marked excellences, but its risks are of formality, stateliness, and sameness. We would commend these *Essays* to a new generation of readers equally on other grounds, and would commend them highly. They inculcate wise and good lessons; their spirit is generous and large; they embody the forms and manners of a past age; they are classical in their contents, and moral and religious in their whole influence.

A reliable volume on India, offering us authentic information within a reasonable compass, has long been a desideratum with a multitude of inquirers. There was no getting at the desired knowledge through the works of native authors, and the abundant works on the subject which have been written by Englishmen are naturally supposed to have been more or less impaired as to the value and reliability of their contents, either by a spirit of partiality or a spirit of hostility to that gigantic monopoly, *The East India Company*. Messrs. John P. Jewett & Co. have recently published (8vo, pp. 618) a very valuable book on *Ancient and Modern India*, by Rev. Dr. David O. Allen. The author, who has returned to this country after spending more than a quarter of a century in that land as a missionary, was well qualified to judge what sort of information we most wish, and how to communicate in an intelligible and interesting way what he has had the best means of acquiring. His work embraces particulars of the natural history of India, of its civil and religious history during the Hindoo and Mohammedan periods respectively, and of the first connection of European powers with the country. The government established there by Great Britain, a sketch of the origin and administration of the *East India Company*, an account of the foreign, native, and mixed population, and a history,

entering into the details of success and failure of the missionary enterprise there, complete the contents of this valuable volume.

Messrs. D. Appleton & Co. have published (2 vols., 12mo, pp. 388, 372) a translation of "The Confidential Correspondence of Napoleon Bonaparte with his Brother Joseph, sometime King of Spain." The letters commence in 1795, and extend through the twenty following years. Their contents are most interesting as revelations of the character of the writer, and as exposing some family feelings and family secrets in their connection with public events. There are materials in them which may be used for confirming the most extreme differences of opinion which are entertained by the admirers or the haters of Bonaparte, and they are likely henceforward to be the staple for the formation and authentication of judgments in either direction.

The same publishers have issued, as a translation from the German, an attractive volume of gossip, scandal, and useful information, entitled "The Attaché in Madrid; or, Sketches of the Court of Isabella II." (12mo, pp. 368.) We are reading it with faith in its truthfulness, which we have no reason to doubt, except in regard to its being a translation from the German, and we find it to be very interesting.

Messrs. Whittemore, Niles, and Hall have republished an exceedingly pleasant book by a French author, Edmond About, entitled "Tolla, a Tale of Modern Rome." (16mo, pp. 320.) The work has caused considerable excitement and much discussion abroad, some of the reasons of which a reader will discover by perusing the volume.

Messrs. Little, Brown, & Co. have published, in the style and size of their edition of *The British Essayists*, a beautiful volume containing Lord Bacon's Essays (pp. 360). We understand that the Rev. Dr. Lunt, of Quincy, is its editor. From various biographical sources, he has digested a new Memoir of the Chancellor, and has selected a body of excellent notes.

Redfield, of New York, has republished, (12mo, pp. 353,) the Shakespeare Papers of the late William Maginn, LL. D., edited by Dr. Shelton Mackenzie. These Papers originally appeared in Bentley's Miscellany, and in Fraser's Magazine. There is keen penetration and a spirit of racy vigor, as well as much plain common-sense suggestion, in these articles. They work to good purpose a mine which is not yet exhausted.

Mr. F. A. Brown, of Hartford, has published (12mo, pp. 230,) the "Life of Captain Nathan Hale, the Martyr-Spy of the American Revolution," by I. W. Stuart. The subject of this interesting memoir has waited long for a well-deserved tribute from the pen of a biographer. Readers, old and young, will peruse the volume with a painful interest, and with a grateful homage to this devoted patriot.

Messrs. Crosby, Nichols, & Co. are about to republish the work of Rev. B. Jowett, of Oxford University, on the Epistles of St. Paul, a work of thorough scholarship, and of a most significant liberality of sentiment.

THE
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER
AND
RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

MAY, 1856.

ART. I.—WASHINGTON AND GOETHE.*

IT is remarkable how human life and history, the more closely they are examined, only the more plainly appear to illustrate the commonplace sentences of morality. When we read that "the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance,"—or, as we should say in the phrase of our modern idiom, a good man shall never be forgotten, and nothing shall have among men such influence as virtue,—we may be hardly sensible at the moment how wonderfully true are the words we so familiarly utter, unless we practically and broadly apply them to the affairs of men. But, old as such language is, it clothes itself with ever-new meaning. It is verified only all the more for its age through all the lapse of time. It wants the whole history of the world in the West as in the East for its proof, that not intellect or wit, prowess or conquest, invention or discovery, but that subtile and mighty thing we call character, takes the deepest hold of the human heart. This is no arbitrary sentence written on the perishing leaves of a paper volume, but a

* 1. *The Newspaper Press on the Celebration of the Birthday of Washington.*
2. *The Life and Works of Goethe: with Sketches of his Age and Contemporaries, from published and unpublished Sources.* By G. H. LEWES, Author of the "Biographical History of Philosophy," &c. In two volumes. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1856.

statement of the very law of our constitution ; and that we may the more surely receive the benefit in it designed, we ought to contemplate this fact of the supreme power of conspicuous excellence to inflame the breast and win the applause of mankind, as one of God's main provisions to keep sanctity and integrity alive on the earth.

Those who, on that day of February which has become the most marked in our calendar, being aroused from sleep by the noise of guns and bells booming over a territory now no inconsiderable part of the habitable globe, asked what it meant, waited not long for an answer from others' lips or their own hearts, that it was to celebrate the birthday of George Washington.

And who was George Washington, that he should be thus remembered? He was the leader of our Revolutionary armies ; he was the first President of these United States. But was it because he filled those great offices, because he was general or chief magistrate, that he is thus remembered? *Can* a man not be supreme civil or military officer of a nation, and yet be forgotten, or some time only remembered to be despised? Will a man's station, will a man's genius, will a man's success, have in it any necessary magic to sanctify him to the grateful, revering recollection of ages and of endless populations who see his figure only on the chronicler's page? No, thank God, it is the greatest eulogy on the human heart itself, that not genius or success or office, but character, wins the crown of its unmeasured approval and unquenchable love. It is because Washington, the providential captain of our hosts and head of our counsels, was a good man ; that he was pure, patriotic, and disinterested ; that, in circumstances irresistibly exciting all the ambition of the human soul, he was ambitious for his country and not for himself ; that, in circumstances of the greatest darkness and discouragement, he did not despair of a just cause ; that he took the inspiration that supported and moved him, not from probabilities and earthly prudence, which many a time could not hold him up one moment in his way, but from right and from the heavens ; that he received his sword and his chair as from God, and rendered them back to God, as the sculptor has well represented, when the purposes for which he wielded the one and sat in the

other were accomplished; — it is for this solemn, sublime, unspotted quality of his soul, that the somewhat grave and utterly unpretending man, that never talked of his fidelity, and could only give stammering thanks to the representatives of his country for their appreciation of it, nor was fond of making any demonstrations even of his affection, has secured the attachment of a continent, a sort of personal loyalty of the whole Anglo-Saxon race, and the admiration of the civilized world. This, and no executive order, sets up his statue in the public hall. This fires the gun, pulls the rope of the bell, inspires and speaks the oration, makes his grave mightier than the living presence of weaker and less worthy men that come after him, and brings back to earth the very soul long since translated to its reward. Let us not be anxious whether we shall come back after we are gone. We shall come back fast enough if our virtue suffice!

It is nothing but a righteous and holy character that will be everlastingly remembered with honor; and that can never fail to be. What is Christianity itself, but the projected surviving heart and life of the incomparably, divinely greatest character that was ever shown on earth? We do not mean to say that such a character will, without high station or extraordinary faculties of mind, make a man of course widely known; but it will make him known and esteemed for ever by all to whom, according to the compass of his abilities and opportunities, his disposition has been revealed. And we say, let the gifts be what they may in largeness and splendor, if they be connected with ungenerous vices and selfish aims, the essential immorality will be a bar, a divine *statute of limitations* to all worthy repute, all enthusiastic veneration in the world.

This matter of our actual pattern or ideal standard has bearings of so unspeakable moment, that we must try to illustrate it by some reference to a book whose title we have already given, and which contains an account of the life of a man of great genius, the foremost man of letters — so the literary judges say — of the last century, — one of the great peers of thought and language in the modern world, — we mean the German Goethe. But this great artist, whose observation was never surpassed, whose pen as a recorder of what he saw could

not be transcended, whose words are always things, and whose books are as crystals, through their transparent solidity, whenever they are opened, the light always so clearly shines, — this man of eye and tongue cannot win even from his friends that sort of homage which is paid to Washington. Why? Because nobody, not even his devotees, can believe him to have been as great in character as he was in intellect; because, unlike Washington, when the invader's heel was on *his* country, when the liberty of the nation that gave birth to him as its greatest son in intellectual power was in peril, he had nothing to say, and, great seer as he was, seemed to perceive nothing that he ought; but when others, whose feebler wits he would have scorned, cried out for the union and defence of the Fatherland, his brain, the biggest that had stirred for ages on the banks of the Rhine, came to a full stop, for no heart proportionate to itself throbbed beneath to keep it in motion; and it was left to a writer of our own day to affirm, without contradiction, "No generous sentiment ever prompted Goethe to set himself in imprudent opposition to any misuse of power." And when we read his story through, and learn that this defect of character touched not only his public course, but his private relations, that he could also leave and grow cold to one after another of the objects of his fondest affection, when they had ceased to minister to his personal satisfaction and pleasure, we declare of him that we will admire his wonderful and productive genius, but that love his character we cannot.

Goethe and Washington, — they are names perhaps never before so brought together, and which some may think it very strange to see written in the same period at once; but there really could not be a comparison furnishing for our inquiry a more decisive test. For the character that Washington had, Goethe had not, and to the brilliant parts which glittered with every motion of the German bard, as though a diamond were turned in the sun, Washington made no pretension. He had no single and prodigious faculty, no charm of speech or quickness of fancy, by which attention is irresistibly fixed and men's hearts taken by storm. He was a plain man, of common sense, marvellous good judgment, and moral intuition; it would almost seem anybody could be great

the way he was; Scripture itself is hardly more artless and unwrought in its story, than the language that was inscribed in his papers or fell from his lips. Some will doubt whether he can even be called a man of genius at all. Perhaps not, according to our technical or conventional idea. But he had a genius of perfect and amazing fitness for the times and the land of his birth. He was *our good genius*,—a sort of guardian angel and earthly providence to this people. It was indeed a quite peculiar and very rare kind of genius that he had,—the genius of a public soul, of an ability for affairs, intricate or vast, and of an unerring conscience, so nice that, like the most delicate instrument, it could weigh every scruple,—so broad and strong, it could bear a whole nation in its sublime balance. For if we will speak of genius, let us remember there are two kinds of genius, of intellect and of character.

The genius of character, then, or the genius of intellect, the question is, Which is chief? which shall win in this great competition? which outrun in the long race men run together down the vista of time? The admirers of description and imagination will give their suffrages to the intellectual power; and one of the foreign encomiasts of this magnificent representative in our times of human intelligence is a little out of humor that we think so much on this side the water of our great character, Washington, and wants to know why we so exaggerate his commonplace merits,—why, instead of having these laudatory orations about him every year all over the land, we do not rather employ somebody, who will tell the truth, to reduce him to his proper size and just level, as a man whose fortune was singular, but his capabilities by no means remarkable after all. Because, let us say to our Transatlantic critic in his delight at the cunning of men's heads,—because, however it may be with the experts who weigh men in scales of logic, or write articles for magazines, MANKIND, *that wonderful creature of a common mind*, estimates the greatness of its members more by the magnanimity of their souls; and the soul of Washington was one of the grandest of all ages, that takes its equal rank with Greek, and Roman, and Hebrew names of renown for humane and pious worth,—names that seem written not in our poor rec-

ords, but on the sky's arch,—names in the broad sunshine of whose moral glory, spreading through the world, all the little fires, which men have made with the kindling of words from abstract conceptions, go out. For howsoever otherwise a man may be distinguished,—and I admit there are many ways in which men may distinguish themselves,—unless there be in him a spirit of love, devotion, and self-sacrifice, we feel he lacks the very pith and beauty of manhood; and though he may be a great performer with his pen, as one plays well on a musical instrument, a *great being* he is not.

Accordingly, it is curious to see that the last biographer of the great Goethe is himself so seriously troubled by the sober charges of selfishness and coldness brought against his favorite, that he expands through many pages one unquestionably very laudable instance of his pecuniary liberality to an unfortunate individual, to prove that he was really, on the contrary, of a warm-hearted and sympathetic temper. But why labor the matter so much? Why be so anxious to make out, in the life of a great man, a solitary case of the charity and almsgiving that should flow from him every day, according to his store, in perennial streams,—the fountain in his bosom, the streams ever in his life,—even as we read that the paths of God “drop fatness”? Or why depend on the demonstration of a man's pity and compassion for his fellow-men at all, if intellect and genius and beaming fancy be the notable and peculiar mark of his fame? Has he not written these matchless poems? Has he not contrived the plots of these beautiful plays? Do not his lines and metres run, as do scarce any others, in our ear like the music of brooks; and his metaphors shine like the fields and seas and clouds from which they are drawn; and, in the personages of his dramatic tales, the varieties of human inclination move up and down marvellously, almost as in living shape to our enraptured inward sight; while singular discoveries in science put upon his head a double crown of gems rarely united for one who, so mighty and many-sided, was as an intellectual king among men? And is not this glory enough for a man? No,—it is not glory enough for a man! He must himself be the best character he can represent. He must enact the finest quality he can paint. He must do and

love to do in daily habit a thousand times over for the beauty of his daily life, the noblest deed he can abstractly conceive or most expressively describe. In other words, his intellect must not overtop his character, nor his mouth outboast the achievement of his hands; but all grace and honor, holy as the flames, burn from him through the relations he may sustain with man, — *and woman too*, — before we accept his title to be the creature God, the incomprehensible Maker, designed when so fearfully and wonderfully he became the Former of the human body and the Father of the human soul. It is not knowledge, but love, that we principally adore in Himself, the Almighty; — it is not knowledge, but love, like his own, that shall move us in his offspring.

As there is no distinction, while men live, so sharp as that of character, so there is none that so pursues them after they are dead. Go to your closet and take the key, and enter the tomb where, in their orderly rows of coffins, lie the ashes of those you have known in life, and you will require no epitaphs, you will not need to go outside to read the lines from the graver's chisel, but only the information of your own faithful heart, to discriminate between them according to their moral qualities; and you will feel in that dim and damp air, if nowhere else, that no other discrimination is comparatively of any account. The voice of Divine inspiration itself only predicts or repeats that verdict of the human heart which is itself an earnest of the decrees of the judgment day; — for, though a particular eulogist or censur, speaker or writer, may mistake in judgment about this person or that, the human heart does not; and the human heart decides that, whether by God or man, character shall be set above intellect, and patriotic ardor, philanthropic toil, be more loved and prized than rhetorical excellence or poetic skill, — as it is fit that *being and doing* a thing should be reckoned above merely *saying* it. So we look upon such a one as Goethe, perhaps *the greatest sayer* of things in this latter age; we read the tale of his life impartially through; we want to like him as much as possible; we examine his conduct and penetrate to the interior spirit from which it springs; and we say to him: We delight in your gifts, — we are very thankful for your astonishing powers, — we gladly allow you your

large and masterly place in the world, — we will appreciate and praise God for what is useful and instructive — and very useful and instructive it is — in your kind also, — but, pardon us, we cannot *love* you! We reserve our love for him who, however much or well he may have succeeded in saying, was a *doer* of all he said, or you said, or that can by anybody be said, under the sun! A special plea our panegyrist makes, to prove, against the general impression of mankind, that his literary hero was lofty and warm-hearted after all. Suppose, then, one should make an elaborate argument to prove, as against question or contradiction, the elevation, breadth, and benignity of Washington's soul, — as has so painfully and with such scanty success been done with respect to Goethe. We should answer, We know it already; nobody doubts it; your argument is insult and a superfluity; it is WASHINGTON of whom you speak! Ah, it is true, the *genius of character* in a great man transcends the *genius of intellect*. There shall be for Goethe a little celebration for a few years in Weimar or Frankfort, where one sees his statue and his house; and for Washington a great one for ever in a hemisphere. A few scholars shall have intense and perhaps endless delight in Goethe's songs; the whole human heart shall rejoice in Washington's doings. Both shall have their immortality here below, — let us be just to own it; but the immortality of virtue is infinitely more precious than that of talent.

For the freedom and simplicity of our comparison we offer no apology. We are educated by our admirations, — by our admirations for persons; nothing, perhaps, educates us so much. Individuals and nations are educated by the great men they propose to themselves for models; and it is a blessing, as we count it, of heavenly fortune to us, that our great man should be such a man as he was, so good, — as it is, we must consider, a misfortune for a country like France to have for her type and predominating spirit a name suggestive of usurpation and selfish ambition, which has so often very naturally been made a term of contrast with that of the great American. It is the contrast of intellect and character. In the presence of Napoleon, who would think of making any claim for Washington of equality in original thought, inventive wit, faculty of keen expression, mak-

ing proverbs for the world, legislative capacity, or military resource. But in that which is greater than any or all of these things, incorruptible character, Europe as well as America, let us bear witness, is reminded by Washington's honor of Napoleon's shame. In vain even in America itself the Corsican finds in our own day, for his latest biographer, a man who tries to lift the burden of that shame and transform it into immaculate honor: like the stone Sisyphus was condemned in the lower region to roll to the top of a hill, it only recoils to more fearful depth of ruin, by the judgment of God and the human heart, — while the soul of the patriot rises for ever by its intrinsic buoyancy of celestial attraction, — no hand could lift, none hold it back, — like a star you see mounting the steep of the sky.

Thank God for the argument such a character affords against all scepticism concerning the capacity of human nature or its fate! Was it indeed, shall we think, an artful compound of matter, a curious quintessence of dust, taken from the soil of Virginia and resolved to earth again on the banks of the Potomac, out of which was formed a character potent for such achievements while the breath lasted, and maintaining for itself such jubilees of praise century after century, after the eyes it looked through first saw the light? O no! such a character by living still in this world proves itself to be alive in *another*. Whether, as many believe, there are in our time spectral revelations from that other world we know not. We only know that we want no evidence of sensible apparition, no cold touch from ghostly fingers, no audible voice from unearthly lips, to convince us of *its* continued existence. We ask no witch of Endor to bring our Samuel's spirit back. No darkened chamber, no entranced form, but the luminous, open air, the very soul of man, is its medium and manifestation. Its warning or congratulatory announcement is from no private table or secret wall, but the out-ringing notes of ten thousand belfries, — rising into mid-heaven, — with the shouts of men and the songs of children. Its return is not to communicate any obscure or worthless message, but to put words of clear guidance and holy fire on the lips of millions born since its earthly shape dissolved.

O spirit! sent to teach us love of country and devotion to human weal, return indeed! Thy work in thy own day and generation was well done, but thou art needed sorely still. Stay not wholly in heaven; but come back, commissioned by God to inspire thy successors, and the citizens of the land thou didst so love, with thy own justice, religious simplicity, and patriotic zeal!

C. A. B.

ART. II. — SHORT-HAND WRITING.*

WHEN we compare the neat pages of a modern book with the antiquated scrawls upon a hieratic papyrus, or even with the specimens of Chinese printing of our own time that occasionally find their way among us, we are apt to feel a little proud of our refined and civilized alphabet. If we attempt to trace any connection between our ordinary letters and the original hieroglyphics from which they were doubtless derived, we can hardly recognize the lineage in their features. The difference is as great as that between the Gothic and the Egyptian architecture.

Yet when we compare our alphabet with the requirements of our language and our social necessities, we find it barbarously imperfect. No improvement in it of any consequence has been made for several hundred years; and although our writing, for every purpose, especially for publication and for correspondence, has increased since that time a hundred fold, yet we are compelled to tire our fingers and spend our time over the same tedious forms that were in use then, and which are not much more brief than those used in the Latin and Greek civilization. There has, however, always been a protest of earnest and active minds against these cumbrous forms; and the history of this protest is the subject of the modest little volume whose title is given in the foot-note. Benn Pitman has here given a brief

* *The History of Short-hand, from the Time of Cicero down to the Invention of Phonography.* Edited and engraved on Stone, by BENN PITMAN. Cincinnati. 1856. pp. 80. 16mo. (In phonographic characters.)

compilation from the History of Short-hand, by his brother, Isaac Pitman, and from the more detailed history of J. H. Lewis.

The earliest short-hand of which we have any definite knowledge is that which is commonly attributed to Tiro, a freedman of Cicero, and which was practised by Roman Emperors, used by amanuenses for Roman authors, revised and improved by Cyprian for the benefit of Christians, and which finally fell into disuse with the Latin tongue itself. Other short-hands are alluded to by ancient authors, and it is said that the Greeks had a system superior to the Roman. But if there were other systems, they have perished, while in Tiro's characters there are whole books still extant, affording us abundant means of studying it in its details. And it is somewhat remarkable that in this, "the first system of short-hand of which we have any account, nearly all the principles of the stenographic art, as practised in our day, were then acknowledged; namely, the adoption of simpler forms than the common letters of the alphabet, making each letter the representative of some common word, leaving out such letters as could be spared, particularly the vowels, and sometimes joining the initial or other parts of several words, in order to express them by one series of forms, and, if possible, without removing the hand from the paper."

But Tiro's forms were simplifications of the common alphabet, and were therefore still complex; and, in order to make it possible to follow even the most deliberate speaker, it was necessary to introduce arbitrary signs for the prepositions, and for the terminations of number, gender, case, and person. Yet this was sufficient to make the system valuable, and it was employed to quite a large extent. It is alluded to in terms of commendation by Cicero, Plutarch, Ovid, and Ausonius.

A thousand years passed away, during which short-hand was apparently unknown, except that in the days of Louis the Pious a species of abbreviated writing, similar to Tiro's Latin short-hand, was used in the records of his government, and specimens are still extant. The French nation were, however, in the ninth century prone to superstition. They considered this swift writing magical, and it fell into disrepute; so that even to

this day short-hand is scarcely known in France, nor, indeed, anywhere upon the continent of Europe.

The earliest short-hand known in England was published in 1588, by Dr. Timothy Bright; and so clear has been the perception of the value of the art in that country, that, between that day and this, nearly two hundred systems of short-hand have been published, averaging almost one every year. Probably a large number have also been invented and taught privately to a few pupils, without being printed. Dr. Bright's system contained a list of five hundred of the most common words in the language, with an arbitrary character to express each word. The characters were simple and easy to be formed, but the burden to the memory in committing them so perfectly as to have them flow readily from the pen was intolerable, and not one man in ten thousand would have the courage to undertake it. Yet so urgent was the need of a short-hand felt, that, two years after the publication of Bright's system, Peter Bayles published another on the same plan of representing words by arbitrary signs.

The first real short-hand alphabet was published in 1602, by "John Willis, Bachelor in Divinity." For forty years this was a popular system, if we can call anything used by so few persons popular, and ten different editions were published. It was too imperfect to become truly popular. The letters were somewhat complicated, and, what is worse, some were formed of two others, so that you could not tell, for example, whether his letter *d* was a *d* or the compound *rs*, and could not distinguish *parse* from *pad*, *horse* from *hod*, except by the context. The complicated form of the letters rendered it necessary to introduce arbitrary characters for words, in order to expedite the writing. But this made it too burdensome for ordinary memories.

In 1654, Rich's improved system was published, and the Psalms and New Testament engraved and published to illustrate it. In Locke's treatise On Education, he says: "Short-hand, as I have been told known only in England, may perhaps be worthy of learning, both for despatch in what men write for their own memory, and concealment of what they would not have lie open to every eye." "Mr. Rich's, the best contrived of any I

have seen, may, as I think, by one who knows and construes grammar well, be made easier and shorter." This system, like others of that age, was chiefly used for preparing or noting down pulpit discourses, and Mr. Pitman gives us a curious list of arbitrary characters, devised to represent frequently occurring religious phrases. The letter G of his simplified alphabet, followed by a dot, stood for "to depart from God"; preceded by a dot, "to come to God"; crowned with two dots, "sons of God"; preceded by two dots, "saints of God"; followed by two dots, "daughters of God"; and so on, through fifteen or twenty phrases in which that name occurs. Hundreds of phrases of greater length than these, of frequent occurrence in Puritan preaching, were in like manner provided with arbitrary symbols. This folly of providing arbitrary symbols for sentences has continued in nearly all systems of short-hand, even into the nineteenth century.

A further improvement upon Rich's system was made in 1695, by W. A. Addy. The whole of the Bible was engraved and published in this short-hand, which was used and recommended by Doddridge.

In 1672, William Mason made even greater changes in Rich's system. Thirty-five years afterwards, he published a system of his own, entitled "*La Plume Volante*." It consisted of four parts,—an alphabet of simple forms, symbolical characters, signifying or suggesting the words they stood for, abbreviations, and arbitrary characters. In 1751, Thomas Gurney republished Mason's system, with improvements; such as the omission of some of the arbitrary characters which referred to religion, and the introduction of such as were suitable for legal and parliamentary proceedings. This adoption of Mason's system by Gurney, and the monopoly which the Gurney family have held, since his day, of reporting for the government in England, has caused Mason's system to be used there down to the present time; and even in this country, although several of much greater value have since been invented.

The Gurney family have in their service about a dozen experienced reporters, who employ beginners, or assistants, to copy their notes into common hand. They are engaged during the sessions of Parliament in taking down notes of testimony, and pleas before the various

Parliamentary committees. The Gurneys receive from the government regular rates in proportion to the work done; their gross receipts being from a half to three quarters of a million of dollars per annum. Of this, from fifty to a hundred thousand dollars is net profit. If to this we add the cost of reporting the debates, borne by the London newspapers, and of reporting cases in the courts of law, &c., we can hardly estimate the total annual earnings of reporters in London at less than three millions of dollars. When we remember that it is only one century since the government took reports of the sittings of committees, and less than eighty years since a regular report of the debates was allowed to be taken in any way, this must certainly appear to be a rapid increase in the practice of this occult art.

In the year 1758 an edition of Mason's system, much altered, was published by a Mr. Angell, on whose list of subscribers appears the name of Samuel Johnson. In Boswell's Life "it is mentioned that a short-hand writer named Angell once called on the Doctor to request him to write a preface to a work on short-hand which he was about publishing. Having professed his ability to write, from another's reading, every word that should be uttered, a book was reached, and the experiment tried, but the stenographer failed to perform what he had undertaken; whereupon the Doctor is said to have declared his belief that to write as fast as a person read was an impossibility." It nevertheless appears that he subscribed for the book, and that he uttered his favorable opinion of the art in the following words:—"Short-hand, on account of its great and general utility, merits a much higher rank among the arts and sciences than is commonly allotted to it. Its usefulness is not confined to any particular science or profession, but is universal; it is therefore by no means unworthy the attention and study of men of genius and erudition."

In 1767, the system of John Byrom, A. M., F. R. S., was posthumously published. Byrom had for many years taught it in private circles, and advocated the use of a reformed alphabet, with zeal and ability. He endeavored to establish stenographic societies, and Mr. Pitman gives the following extract from a speech of this author. "Who would not wish to see a rational princi-

ple prevail in our English writing, and to see the words of our language freed from that ridiculous superfluity of idle letters with which perverse custom has loaded them, — from that empty abundance of useless characters which makes foreigners imagine that we use a most unutterable jargon, and places many difficulties in the way of our own natives? We must be content to bear the reproach, the unjust reproach of Gothic barbarians, till we proceed on the maxim of the Emperor Augustus, and advance so far at least towards short-hand as to write our words as we pronounce them; that it may no longer be the main difficulty in learning our language, to know what characters express what sounds, and upon what occasions letters are inserted to represent no sounds at all."

The next great advance in short-hand was the publication of Taylor's system, in 1786. This system has been more extensively practised than perhaps any other, and more frequently pirated by unscrupulous authors and publishers. Another popular system is that of J. H. Lewis, first published in 1815, by the author of a very learned and detailed history of short-hand.

We have now mentioned the principal systems of short-hand, which the English spirit of religious freedom, and in later times of political freedom, has called into being. And it is not without some pride in our English ancestry that we remember that the modern history of short-hand is almost wholly confined to England. But none of these systems were entirely satisfactory; they answered the purpose of reporting sermons in the seventeenth century, of reporting Parliamentary debates in the eighteenth; but they were too difficult to learn, too illegible even to adepts, to be used in the familiar correspondence of the nineteenth century. The leading idea in all of them has been to provide for swiftness in writing; legibility has been consulted only enough to make reading possible. But it is manifest that, in order to have a short-hand fitted for ordinary correspondence, indeed, for any common use in life, it must be as legible as common writing.

In order to combine the greatest legibility with the greatest speed in writing, seven distinct principles must be recognized. The characters must not represent words, nor the common spelling; but must, like the earliest al-

phabets, represent the elementary sounds of the language. These characters must be of the simplest possible form. From a careful study of the language, the relative frequency of the elementary sounds must be discovered, and the most easily formed characters be assigned to the most frequently recurring sounds. The most frequently occurring double consonants, such as the combinations with the liquids *l* and *r*, must be provided with a simple system of compound forms. There must be a mode by which vowels can be inserted or omitted, at the pleasure of the writer, without altering the general appearance of the word. The most common words of the language must be systematically represented by simply writing a single prominent sound of the word. Lastly, it must be possible to write common phrases without lifting up the pen.

In 1837, Isaac Pitman, of Bath, England, published his system of "Stenographic Sound-hand." The title was afterwards changed to "Phonography," and in 1840 the alphabet was materially improved. So popular has this system been in England, that a hundred and thirty thousand copies of his treatise have been already sold; and in this country there has been a proportionate popularity. Several American writers have rearranged and republished Pitman's system, and his brother, the compiler of this "History of Short-hand," has sold eight thousand copies of his manual of Phonography within the last eight months. We mention these facts as being in themselves evidence that Phonography has supplied, better than any previous system, the want that had been felt for more than two centuries. It fulfils the seven essentials of a legible and rapid short-hand; it is essentially phonetic, "the" and "and" being the only words in the language for which arbitrary characters are provided, and the phrase "of the" the only one for which it furnishes a symbolic representation; the characters for elementary sounds are the simplest possible; the most readily formed stand for the most frequent sounds; there are very neat and effective modes for grouping consonants; vowels can be inserted with great accuracy, or can be wholly omitted; all common phrases can be written without lifting the pen; and all words of frequent occurrence are readily noted by their prominent sounds; so that practically the easiest way for a beginner to decipher rapid

phonographic writing is to sound aloud the letters given, and his ear will at once suggest the omitted ones. The rapidity of phonographic writing is greater than that of any known short-hand, and its legibility is incomparably greater, inasmuch as there is never any difficulty in recognizing the consonant sounds, and the vowels may be inserted in cases of anticipated ambiguity. Its rapidity is so great that many phonographers are now able to stand the test in which Angell failed; and its legibility is fully equal to that of common long-hand.

In Charles Dickens's tale of "David Copperfield" we have a painful picture of the difficulty of learning the older systems of stenography. But from the strictly phonetic character of Pitman's system, it is very readily acquired, so that it is perfectly practicable to have it taught in our grammar, or even our primary schools; in some of our public high schools, it has already been introduced. The difficulty to a child in learning to read and write Pitman's phonography is not half as great as that of learning to write and spell the ordinary handwriting of our language.

Two years ago the Board of Controllers of the Public Schools in Philadelphia passed, without debate, a resolution forbidding any further instruction in phonography to be given in the High School of that city. The friends of the study petitioned the Board to appoint a committee of inquiry into the propriety of rescinding the resolution. A committee was appointed and testimony brought forward conclusively showing the valuable fruits of the study to the pupils, both in the school and after graduating. The resolution was rescinded; and the committee recommended the Board to introduce phonography also into other schools.

Our purpose in the present article has been, not only to give a few interesting facts in the history of the English art of short-hand, but also to present to our readers the general question suggested by this recommendation of that committee, — What place should short-hand, since this invention of Pitman's phonetic scheme, hold in the general education of children?

For our part, we have no hesitation in saying that every child in our common schools should be taught to read and write this short-hand at the age when he is

usually taught to write common hand. In support of this view we have no argument to offer. It seems to us a self-evident matter. Here is a system of short-hand, thoroughly tested, shown to be capable of contractions which enable it to be written as fast as words can be distinctly articulated, and requiring in its most extended and elementary form only one fourth the time required for long-hand,—easy to learn, and perfectly legible. No young person can afford to be ignorant of such an art. No parent has given his child a good education until he has taught him how to use it. No persons are really ready to write letters of friendship or business, memoranda, books, newspaper articles, sermons, lectures, or orations, until they can write phonetic short-hand. No student is ready to go to the university or to professional schools until he is thus prepared to preserve the oral instructions he may there receive. No person is ready to enjoy public lectures, or sermons, if they contain facts and valuable thoughts, unless he can note down as much as he chooses, without labor or distraction of attention from the discourse. In short, we are not justified in withholding from the children of the Commonwealth this art, so valuable in saving time and labor, when it is so easy to give it to them. The pecuniary value of phonography, as shown by the facts we have given respecting London reporters, and which might be abundantly substantiated by American examples, would alone be a sufficient reason for its general diffusion; but like the daguerreotype, the telegraph, the railroad, cheap postage, and other inventions of our age, its chief and peculiar value lies in its moral effects. It is a new bond to unite us closer in bands of brotherhood. It enables us to pour out to a distant friend our thoughts and feelings, fresh, warm, and unrestrained, as if into his living ear. The half-hour which we devote to writing him a letter, instead of giving him a few hasty words, will enable us to send him the equivalent of a dozen letter pages. It is a fact of some significance that Pitman's "Phonography" was published on the 1st of January, 1840, as a "companion to the penny-post" then first established in England. They have been companions from that day to this, and the great increase of correspondence in England, since that time, has been partly owing to their combined influence.

ART. III. — UNITARIANISM AND ORTHODOXY ON GOD AND CHRIST.

THE second of the three great, comprehensive doctrinal issues to which, as we have inferred, the controversy between the Unitarians and the Orthodox has been reduced, after an half-century of earnest and various discussion, now invites our attention. Our aim is to sum up its prominent points, to concentrate its scattered disputes, and to seek the results to which either party may have been brought, so far as they involve concession, or qualification, or a reassertion of the original grounds of the controversy.

The controversy centres upon this question, — Is Jesus Christ presented to us in the New Testament as possessing the underived honors of the Godhead, as claiming by himself and by his Apostles the supreme prerogative of Deity, and therefore as an object of worship and prayer, and of our ultimate religious dependence? Orthodoxy answers this question in the affirmative, Unitarianism answers it in the negative.

In strictness of construction, this one point of doctrinal difference might be regarded as constituting the sole issue which divides the two parties. For controversial discussion has made it evident that the doctrine of the Deity of Christ has been maintained chiefly on account of the relations which are presumed by Orthodoxy to exist between this and its two other fundamental doctrines, — the depravity of human nature, and a vicarious sacrifice made to God for the redemption of men. Orthodoxy affirms, that nothing short of an infinite expiation could suffice to redeem our race from the consequences of Adam's fall; therefore Christ, the Redeemer, must be God. Orthodoxy affirms, that only the Being against whom the offence of sin is committed could provide an adequate penalty for it, as it required an infinite penalty, and therefore the sacrifice made for it was the sacrifice of God. It is thus that the doctrine of the Deity of Christ has been supposed to be vital to the Christian system, as alone consistent with its other doctrines concerning God and man, and the relations of enmity and the proffered terms of reconciliation between them. The

doctrine having been thus pronounced essential to the theological exposition of the Christian faith, it is made to carry with it, not only such weight of authority as it is claimed to derive from its positive announcement in the Scriptures, but also such strong incidental support and warrant as attach to it from its inter-relations with other so-called fundamental doctrines. The bias of error on any single point touching this matter may thus prejudice a fair view of either one or of all the great elements of the Christian scheme. It is the very decided, and, we must believe, the very fairly reached and the very intelligent conviction of Unitarians, that the supposed exigencies of the Orthodox system are to the full as constraining a reason with its disciples for holding to the doctrine of the Deity of Christ, as is the force of direct argument for it from the text of Scripture. If this bias be real, it must needs be very strong. Orthodoxy, therefore, proclaims that the Deity of Christ enters into the very substance of the Gospel, and Orthodoxy commits itself to that doctrine.

The doctrine of the Deity of Christ enters into the more general doctrine of the Trinity of persons in the Godhead, and is, indeed, the chief element in this doctrine, as the process necessary for developing the Deity of Christ requires a previous recognition of a possible complexity in the Godhead. The doctrine of the Trinity is, that in the one God are united three distinct, co-equal, and co-eternal persons, revealed to us by the titles of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. What an untold amount of thinking, reasoning, arguing, asserting, and denying has been spent upon this theme! When we regard it as a matter of mere speculation, in dealing with which words must for the most part stand in place of ideas, we may be impatient that in this short life of man, where his zeal and strength are all needed for great Christian duties, he should have bestowed so much of thought and interest upon a metaphysical abstraction. But when we regard the issue as one that has been raised to be decided by a most careful, thorough, intelligent, and reverential interpretation of the New Testament, we are the more reconciled to the spending of so much study upon it, because of the possible incidental benefits resulting to our Scriptural knowledge and cul-

ture. And yet once more, rising to a still higher view, when we look at the issue here raised as it bears directly or indirectly upon the whole doctrinal substance of revelation, our impatience yields, — we become more than reconciled to the discussion as it offers to guide us to its various and momentous relations to all Christian truth. We accept the subject, as one alike of speculative, Scriptural, and practical interest.

As we enter anew upon this ancient topic of acrimonious strife, of ardent controversy, and of perplexed debate, let it be with due preparation of thought and feeling. High abstractions, profound speculations, and themes of mystery are comprehended in this discussion, as well as the simple verities which have a solemn interest for the unlearned, who wish to believe as Christians. It is no subject for our presumption to deal with, nor for our dogmatism to decide. If we choose to concern ourselves with a question as to the mode of the Divine existence, or if we feel that an inquiry on this point seriously involves the clearness and the correctness of our doctrinal belief, we must remember that the subject is wholly unlike those which relate to our own characters and experience; so that our familiar methods and processes, and certainly our bold and impatient spirit of curious investigation, will no longer serve us. Men will interest themselves with questions about the origin of this globe, the date when human life began upon it, and the time appointed for its dissolution. Men will even discuss and argue the probabilities as to whether the other orbs of heaven, within our view, are occupied by beings in any respect like ourselves. Very slender are our grounds for the adoption of theories, and very meagre are our results after debating such questions. And yet, as these relate to matters of sense, to physical operations, to mathematical calculations, and fall within the province of exact science, we have certain resources for dealing with them with considerable satisfaction. We can hammer out from the earth's rocky breast some of her secrets; we can put to the test the question whether the fires of the sun are wasting; we can push forth the telescopic tube and dilate with our lenses the compass of the planetary orbs, and put the heavens well-nigh out of countenance by the boldness of our own gaze,

as we pronounce upon what nutriment of fog, or flame, or stone, or ice, the inhabitants of those orbs must respectively subsist. But a question concerning the mode of the Divine existence is remote from all these, and all other similarly profound and vast questions. By searching we cannot find out God. We cannot hope that any of the incomprehensibilities which invest him will yield to our reasoning. We have never seen it affirmed, we are confident it never can be proved, that the effort of faith which is essential to a conception of God will be one whit relieved or facilitated by conceiving of him under the form of a Trinity. The vast and awful solemnity remains still to confound or to dazzle us. We find a warrant for intermeddling with this loftiest of all themes,—the existence of God,—in the fact that revelation addresses it to our faith through our reverent and intelligent thought. But all questions as to *the mode* of the Divine existence are voluntarily opened by us. These are not forbidden, and certainly, if one of the great purposes of revelation was to disclose to us the doctrine of the Trinity, and if the whole scheme of Christian truth centres upon that doctrine, it becomes as legitimate, indeed as importunate, a theme of thought and interest, and, under proper conditions, of controversy, as any that can engage our minds.

Let us understand, too, how the subject before us has come to enter into controversy. The most superficial reader of church history is made aware that the controversy, instead of being one of recent origin, has followed down the fortunes of our faith from a very early age. He learns, also, that the party differences and strifes which the controversy from its beginning excited, called together numerous general and local councils of Christian ministers, were brought before imperial tribunals, and disposed of, or at least taken cognizance of, by civil edicts. He discovers that the disputed terms of the controversy have been blazoned on the banners of contending armies, and have been authenticated, not only by the legitimate processes of Scripture criticism and fair argument, but by the ruder methods of fines, prisons, banishments, excommunications, and executions. The popular notion among the uninformed members of orthodox sects, favored often by the uncandid authorities on

which the ignorant and prejudiced rely, is, that the plain doctrine of Scripture is Trinitarianism; that the Saviour and his Apostles taught this doctrine and founded their churches upon it; that the early Fathers and all other Christians unanimously believed it; that no question for long ages attached to it; that the whole Church down to quite a recent time agreed upon it; and that only a daring heretic here and there has ever doubted or assailed the doctrine. The Unitarian, on the other hand, is perfectly satisfied that the teaching of Scripture is in complete opposition to Trinitarianism; that violence must be done to the text in order to support it; that the Apostles never recognized, never even heard of it; that such of the Fathers as in their confused and inconsistent teachings give it more or less of their countenance, derived it from unscriptural sources, from previous philosophical fancies; that the doctrine from its first announcement was controverted, and that it is itself a heresy whose origin and whole way of strife are thoroughly known to us.

We select, out of a multitude of statements of the doctrine of the Trinity lying at our hand, that which is given in the Confession of Faith adopted by the New England churches in 1680, as follows:—

“There is but One only living and true God. In the Unity of the Godhead there be Three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity: God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. Which doctrine of the Trinity is the foundation of all our communion with God, and comfortable dependence upon him.”

We might exhaust all our space in giving a series of statements and definitions of this doctrine; and then we might occupy twice the number of pages in simply arranging the various modifications of conception and belief which have marked the chronological history, or the symbolical adoption, or the heretical aberrations from any one of the several orthodox formulas of this doctrine. A volume which should faithfully present the abundant materials of that nature for filling it, might well pass among us for a relic rescued from Babel. The doctrine of the Trinity is confessedly incomprehensible, and many readers of the controversies about it must feel a profound regret that it was not allowed from the first to be inex-

pressible like wise. Indeed, the question is a fair one, Has not the doctrine really proved itself to be inexpressible? It is this great variety of terms and forms of speech used for announcing the doctrine, and the failure of all of them to leave an intelligible idea in the mind, that first excites the anxious distrust of many persons to whom this doctrine is presented as "the foundation of all our communion with God." We find even Calvin objecting to the use of the word *persons* for defining the distinctions in the Godhead. He called the word *barbarous*; he regretted its use; he wished that some other phraseology might be substituted for announcing the doctrinal formula. The excellent Dr. Watts called the doctrine of "*three persons*" a "strange and perplexing notion." A great deal of ingenuity has been exercised by intelligent but bewildered theologians for devising a simpler, a more intelligible, a less self-contradictory, and a "more Scriptural" method for stating the doctrine. Evidently some of the best minds have been exercised upon it in vain. The unanimous decision of all competent teachers who hold and try to communicate the doctrine now is, that when the word *person* is used to express each of the Three in the One God, it does not have the same sense that is attached to it in any one or in all of the other uses of the word. A very worthy volunteer in the work of teaching a doctrine of which he could make no intelligible expression, after confounding his own thought, fairly gave over the more dignified and professional speech of his calling, and avowed that it was "necessary to believe in *Three Somewhats* as equally divine."

This is an amazing perplexity to be put at the very threshold of an entrance to the Christian doctrines. We cannot but feel a strong persuasion that, if all the bewildering and confounding speculations which have attached to this doctrine—and which, while they have embarrassed the reception of it in any intelligible form, have also established the supposed necessity of accepting it in some form—could be wholly set aside, Christians would come to the discussion of such a theory in a far more candid state of mind. They are now prepossessed and prejudiced on this subject. We cannot believe for one moment, that, if it were left to this age and the present

resources of speculative conception in religious philosophy to fashion forth a dogmatic statement concerning the Divine nature, any such notion as Unitarianism includes would find acceptance, even if it could find a suggestion or an advocate. All the attempts which are made to state the doctrine more intelligibly or more simply have resulted in such refined or sublimated metaphysics, that we almost forget the mathematical puzzle of the original formula, while we turn back to it as for a sort of relief.

There has been, however, one essential step of real progress secured in the discussion of this subject. Those who will turn over the voluminous records of the Unitarian controversy, as conducted by English divines in the last century, will find it doubly and trebly perplexed beyond its own intrinsic difficulties, if that be possible, by a complicated and intricate network of definitions, schemes, and secondary issues. If any one should feel compelled to trace the course of opinion in all its windings and relations between the starting-point of doctrine as an accepted creed defined it, and the attempts of religious teachers to give it an exposition conformed to the utterances of their own individual views, he would have need to bury himself in heaps of antiquated books. As, for instance, after mastering Dr. Samuel Clarke's modification of the doctrinal Trinity, he would have to master Dr. Waterland's refutation of that modification, and this would be a specimen task of a work which would occupy a long life. But as this sort of rubbish has accumulated in masses in sight of which heart and flesh absolutely quail, it has come to be understood that henceforward no one is expected to meddle with it. He would be a high offender who should venture to open anew the specific issues of the modes and schemes which our fathers felt compelled to entertain. Our recent discussions have on this account been greatly simplified, and will become even yet more simple as they become wholly Scriptural.

The doctrine of the Trinity has indeed been so sublimated and refined, and so reduced in the rigidity of its old technical terms, that it may now be said to offer itself in some quite inoffensive and unobjectionable shapes to that large number of persons who feel bound to accept it in some shape, and yet are aware that in full mental

honesty they can accept it only in the least dogmatic and most accommodated shape. Though for our own part we can connect no intelligible idea with such an assertion as Dr. Bushnell makes, for example, when he says that God has been "eternally *threeing* himself," we can recognize the fact that genius and fancy and irrepressible restlessness of mind are determined to festoon and array a dogma whose angular sharpness and whose barrenness of look would offend. If we could only find any occasion for believing a Trinity in the Godhead, in any form of the dogma, Archbishop Whately might largely help us to make the very little effort which is all that is left as essential. In some of the modern shapings of the doctrine, we confess that there is no reason for rejecting it which will weigh against the slightest good reason for receiving it. But that slightest reason for receiving it is the very thing which fails us: it is wholly lacking.

We have said that the chief reason for asserting the doctrine of the Trinity is that it may include or cover the doctrine of the Deity of Christ. Frankly, and with general consent, is this admission yielded by Orthodox writers. Professor Stuart says: "All difficulties in respect to the doctrine of the Trinity are essentially connected with proving or disproving the divinity [he means *the Deity*] of Christ."* "When this [the Deity of Christ] is admitted or rejected, no possible objection can be felt to admitting or rejecting the doctrine of the Trinity."† The plain inference from such statements evidently is, that the Deity of a *third* personality in the Godhead (the Holy Spirit) is affirmed and insisted upon, in order to secure and make good the Deity of a *second* personality in the Godhead. The Holy Spirit is admitted to the prerogative of a distinct *personality* in order to facilitate that distribution of the essence of the Godhead which will assign to Jesus Christ the rank of the Supreme. And this device is adopted, because into some of the texts which are needed inferentially to confirm the assumption that Christ is God, the Holy Spirit enters by equally distinct mention.

It is even so. There is no other reason for asserting

* Letters to Dr. Channing, 3d edition, p. 45.

† Ibid., p. 59.

the separate personality of the Holy Spirit, except as that will bear upon the claim for Christ of the underived and self-subsisting prerogative of Deity. The weakest point in all the arguments in support or defence of Trinitarianism, is that which attempts to prove from Scripture the personality of the Holy Spirit. Yet weak as this point in such arguments always is, laboring at the very start, made essential by an indirect instead of a direct and independent necessity, and requiring a most tortuous and unsatisfactory dealing with the phraseology of Scripture, it is the very point on which Orthodox divines spend the least of their strength, as if conscious of their weakness. The personality of the Spirit is expected to come in by indulgent construction after the divisibility of the Godhead has been affirmed for the sake of sharing its attributes between Christ and the Father. So obvious is it to all minds not prejudiced by a dogma, that the term Holy Spirit, wherever it is used in the Bible, may always have its whole meaning recognized when it is regarded as expressing the agency or influence of God's spiritual operations. We might as well attempt to claim a distinct personality for the Wisdom of God, or the Power of God, or the Fear of God, or the Love of God, as to claim it for the Spirit of God. God is himself a SPIRIT; that is the very loftiest and fullest title by which the Saviour made him an object of our faith. All the agency of God is spiritual, though for convenience of distinction we generally withdraw that epithet from uses relating to God's agency in the physical world, and confine it to the methods of his operation on his intelligent creation. The advocate of Trinitarianism thinks that he visits upon us a perfectly overwhelming argument, when he gathers texts from the Bible to prove that Divine attributes of Creation, Omnipresence, Wisdom, Might, and operative energy are assigned to the Spirit. It would be strange if they were not so assigned. We are amazed that any one should offer these manifest inferences of simple truth, the conditions which constitute the great truth that "God is a Spirit," in proof of the astounding dogma that one third part of the Godhead is Spirit. God is himself a Spirit. Now if we distinguish the Spirit as a divided personality in the Godhead, what crowning attribute have we left for the Father? The

device would seem to us puerile, if it did not appear monstrous, which would distinguish, not the agency, but the *nature* of God by a division, or a duplication, of his essence into God the Father as one person, and God the Spirit as another person. How can a reader of Scripture fail to recognize the fact that the Spirit of God is itself but one of many terms used for expressing the operating, penetrating, and sanctifying energy and influence of the Supreme Being? If Scripture, in deference to the straits of our limited power of intellectual conception, gives us several terms for defining the methods and the attributes of the One Supreme, shall we seize upon them, and, instead of using them for the purpose for which they are given, turn them back upon the Unity of the Godhead, to confound it with a plurality?

It is at this point, of course, that one who has been educated under this Trinitarian dogma, and is seeking to test its truth, or one who is brought into debate with a professed believer in it, will begin to raise the question whether the Scriptures teach, or the Christian scheme includes, any doctrine of a Trinity of co-equal and co-eternal Persons in the One God. Though the doctrine is advanced chiefly as a help towards the proof of another doctrine of the Deity of Christ, we object to the doctrine, in the first place, on grounds wholly distinct from its relation to that article of the Trinitarian faith. We object, in general, to the doctrine of the Trinity, that it is an invention of the human mind, for which the Scriptures afford no warrant; and that its prominent effect is to introduce into the system of truths taught in the Scriptures an extraneous, artificial, and perplexing dogma, wholly inconsistent with, utterly unlike to, the acknowledged and accepted doctrines of Scripture. We do not object, as is often charged upon us, that the doctrine involves a mystery. On the contrary, we object that the doctrine when urged upon us as a mystery misuses and perverts the word *mystery*, and avails itself of the acknowledged and allowed credibility of what the word *mystery* properly signifies, to propose to us something quite unlike a mystery; namely, a statement that is absurd, so far as it is intelligible, and that is inconsistent in the very terms which it brings together for making its proposition. We accept all such religious truths as can

- fairly be covered by the word *mystery*. We live religiously upon such truths; they are the nutriment of our spirits,—of infinitely larger account to us than anything we can learn or understand. We are made familiar, by every moment's exercise of close thought, with the necessity of accepting mysteries, and we know very well what a sensation and sentiment they send down into the innermost chambers of our being. But we are conscious of feeling quite a different sensation and sentiment when this doctrine of the Trinity is proposed to us under the covert of a mystery. Quite another quality in it than that of its mysterious character at once suggests itself to us. Its utter absurdity, its attempt to say something which it fails to say *intelligibly*, simply because it cannot say it *truly*, is the first painful consciousness attaching to the doctrine. If the doctrine be true, then it is the only doctrine of the Gospel which causes the same sort of puzzling, confounding, bewildering effect on the mind that seeks to entertain it. It sets us into the frame into which we fall when any one proposes to us an enigma, or a conundrum. It lays at the very threshold of the Christian faith an obstacle at which we stumble. It requires of us a summoning of resources, or a concession, a yielding up, of our natural desire for intelligent apprehension, as if to be addressed by some profound truth, when in fact we are only bewildered. The state of mind into which we should be driven by an attempt to accept the doctrine of the Trinity as fundamental to the Gospel, would be of no service to us in dealing with the real doctrines of the Gospel. The doctrine is not homogeneous with the contents of revelation; it is unevangelical and anti-evangelical in all its characteristic elements. Just where we need the clearest exercise of our thoughts, and wish to accommodate our ideas to our theme, and to engage the orderly action of all our faculties, we are beclouded and staggered, and thrown into a maze. Has not our whole theology been made to suffer, by thus taking its start from a metaphysical subtilty which confuses the mind, instead of from one august truth which lifts and solemnizes the spirit?

How much of sublime and penetrating power did the Hebrew faith carry with it in the announcement, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is One Lord!"

Would we as Christians sacrifice anything of this majestic utterance by substituting for it, "Hear, O Christian, the Lord thy God is one God in a Trinity of Persons"? The Trinitarian, however, assures us that his belief of a triplicate personality in the Godhead does not impair his belief in the Divine Unity. How inoperative then must be his Trinitarian belief, unless, as is probably the case, the idea which he has in his mind fails to find expression in any phraseology that can give a verbal announcement of the doctrine of the Trinity. The purest attraction, the most spiritual warrant of revealed religion, is the oneness of God. It is by that distinction that revealed religion stands loftily and simply elevated above all earth-born religions. Yet this high distinction is at once impaired, and in some measure neutralized, by a doctrine of tri-personality in unity. Long use has accustomed us to the assertion of this doctrine in words, but none the less is it chargeable with an influence prejudicial to the best exercise of our faculties upon the great truths of Gospel revelation. A question for which this age is fully ready, instructed as it has been by so much experience in the past, is this, and it is a question which earnestly addresses itself to earnest persons in all communions:—Cannot full justice be done to the Christian scheme, and to the orderly connection of every one of its dependent truths, without any use of this doctrine of the Trinity? Do we need it? Can we not dispense with it, and yet be Christian believers?

Having thus begun the statement of our objections to this scholastic doctrine of the Trinity, by impugning it as unintelligible and confounding, not enlightening or solemnizing, we are led on through a series of valid and strengthening reasons, which amount, in our own mind, to an unanswerable refutation of it.

Though Christians have insisted upon the fundamental character of this doctrine, they find it utterly impossible to state it in the language of Scripture. A human formula is necessarily the vehicle for its expression. Though the Scriptures, as we often affirm, have a peculiar directness and simplicity of phrase, and excel all other forms of literature in the conciseness and vigor with which they express truths and precepts, they never-

- theless fail to furnish one single sentence which can be used in a creed to announce the Trinity. Yes, this so-called primary and all-essential article of the Christian faith,—“the foundation of all our communion with God,”—cannot be uttered in any Divine oracle, but must look to uninspired men for an expression. No announcement of it can be quoted from the lips of prophet or apostle, or from Him who spake as never man spake. A piecemeal selection of the elements which are to be wrought up into the doctrine must be gathered from isolated sentences and phrases of the Bible, and even then one of the most familiar and well-defined words of our language—the word *person*, which is already appropriated past changing to mark the separate individuality of one complete being—must be perverted to a wholly new use, while they who thus pervert it profess to dislike it, and aver that it wholly fails to convey the idea that is in their minds. Are they sure that there is any real, well-developed idea in their minds, seeing that they cannot express it without perverting language, and even then are forced to confess that they fail to express it. Are they sure, too, that the idea which they wish to express is one received from the Scriptures? Does Scripture bid us believe, as a fundamental, a doctrine which Scripture itself does not announce in its own “form of sound words”?

Again, a fundamental doctrine ought to be emphatically announced and constantly reiterated. Now all candid persons must admit that no stress, no prominence, no directness or earnestness of statement, is made of this doctrine in the Scriptures corresponding to the emphatic and pre-eminent place assigned to it in all Orthodox creeds. Considering too with what strenuous positiveness and reiteration the Unity of God is there asserted, ought there not to have been a balancing of this assertion by as emphatic a proclamation of the Trinity? This triplicity of constitution of the Godhead was certainly a new doctrine to the world. It was new to the Jews. It demanded, therefore, at least one announcement from each Apostle, and each Evangelist, in terms as clear and strong as the resources and capacities of human language will admit. What is most remarkable under this head of objection is the fact, that, on the

occasions upon which we should have looked for the most distinct statement of the doctrine, it was held back. The baptismal formula, which, unlike as it is to the formula of the creed, does gather together the three component elements of the Trinity, stops far short of the assertion that three personalities are mentioned,—and that such three make up the one God of the Gospel. The most natural and unprejudiced construction of that baptismal formula views it as announcing a Gospel message from God the Father, through Christ his beloved Son, attested by spiritual evidences from God's Holy Spirit. What an opportunity was there here for the statement—what an imperative demand was there for the statement, if fundamentally true, and of paramount importance—of the full doctrine of the Trinity! But it is not here! After the crucifixion, the resurrection, and the ascension of Jesus, after the miraculous illumination of the Apostles on the Feast of Pentecost, one signal event occurred. The religion which, with its author, the Jewish rulers supposed had been committed to a hopeless tomb, was resuscitated. Instead of having heard the last of it, the world was now to begin to listen to a new and unceasing proclamation of it. The opportunity for making its first re-announcement came to Peter after an astounding manifestation of Divine power. And what an opportunity there was, what a pressing and emergent necessity and demand there was, for proclaiming the doctrine which Christians now make fundamental in their creed! We should look and listen to hear Peter announcing to the Jewish rulers that in the person of Jesus Christ they had rejected and condemned one who shared the underived attributes of their own Jehovah. But no! What says he? This:—"Ye men of Israel, hear these words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also know; him, being delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye have taken, and by wicked hands have crucified and slain: whom God hath raised up." (Acts ii. 22-24.) And on how many other occasions through Judæa, Asia Minor, and at Rome, on the first promulgation of our faith, was it incumbent on its preachers to have put foremost its foun-

dation doctrine! But if the Trinity be such a doctrine, they did not make one single statement of it which will serve the use of the creed. And now what can be offered in frankness, and in the thorough simplicity and ingenuousness of true candor, to meet the force of this objection?

Another fact most significant of the unscriptural character of the doctrine of the Trinity is, that the texts which are quoted to support it are peculiarly embarrassed with doubts and questions as to authenticity, exactness of rendering, and signification. The three prominent proof-texts most likely to be first adduced, and which promise at first sight to be most available, are the least reliable. Of these three favorite passages with Trinitarians, on which so much scholarship and ingenious reasoning and pleading have been expended, the foremost one is that in 1 John v. 7. This text comes nearest of any in the Bible to a statement of the Trinitarian formula, though still falling short of the statement by all the distance of the difference between *Three agreeing in One*, and *Three being One*. Yet this text is now discredited as wholly without authority, as a corruption, an interpolation, foisted into the record. Every Christian scholar, of whatever denomination, competent to pass an instructed opinion on the matter, admits that St. John did not write that sentence, and that the words were most unwarrantably introduced into a manuscript written some centuries after the Apostolic age, the crowning proof of the fact being that no one of the Fathers quotes the text. Now let us at least have the benefit of this allowance, — *that the only sentence which is acknowledged to be spurious in the New Testament as we read it, was introduced and is retained for the sake of its supposed announcement and support of the doctrine of the Trinity*. That text is to us a type of the unscriptural origin and the unscriptural character of the doctrine.

The second of these favorite Trinitarian proof-texts is 1 Timothy iii. 16: "Great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh," &c. As the passage stands, it neither presents the slightest embarrassment to the Unitarian, nor affords the slightest support to Trinitarianism. But with the gloss and the forced construction put upon the passage, the word *mystery* is interpret-

ed as signifying, not a disclosure of something before concealed or unknown, but as implying an announcement of an occult and impenetrable secret; and the word *godliness*, which means simply *piety*, is regarded as designating the *Godhead*, or the mode of the Divine Existence. Our readers are probably for the most part well informed as to the question of scholarly criticism opened on the text, whether a very ancient Greek manuscript has the character *o* or *o*, and whether, as a consequence, we should read in the English, "*Which* was manifest in the flesh," or "*God* was manifest in the flesh." As the Unitarian may claim, on grounds of criticism, that the passage should read, "Great is that marvel of piety which was manifested in the flesh," so also the Unitarian may consent to withdraw all such criticism from the text, and read it as others read it, while he asks, with some considerable earnestness, what shadow of argument can be drawn from it in support of the Trinity. Are Unitarians to be forbidden to believe that "God was manifested in the flesh," or that Christ was a marvellous exhibition of piety?*

The third of these favorite Trinitarian proof-texts is Acts xx. 28: "Feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood." The question raised by variations in manuscripts, and other sources of critical information, is whether we should read "the Church of God" or "the Church of the Lord." Our aim here is not to present the merits on either side of the results which criticism reaches on these texts, but simply to show that the passages which Trinitarians would be most likely to quote are the very ones which are most embarrassed or dubious in their authority or their signification. Professor Samuel Davidson, an Orthodox critic whose conclusions are among the most recent ones which have been offered to scholars, after a most candid arbitration

* Professor Stuart, in the *Biblical Repository*, 1832, p. 79, says: "I cannot feel that the contest on the subject of the reading can profit one side so much, or harm the other so much, as disputants respecting the doctrine of the Trinity have supposed. Whoever attentively studies John xvii. 20-26, 1 John i. 3, ii. 5, iv. 15, 16, and other passages of the like tenor, will see that 'God might be manifest' in the person of Christ, without the necessary implication of the proper divinity [Deity] of the Saviour; at least, that the phraseology of Scripture does admit of other constructions besides this; and other ones, moreover, which are not forced."

between the disputed words in the Greek which give the two renderings, decides strongly in favor of "the Church of the Lord." *

But what a dreary and repelling task it is to go over the New Testament, or the whole Bible, to hunt out words, phrases, and sentences that may constructively or inferentially be turned to the support of a doctrine which ought to lie patent on the page. It would seem as if Trinitarians had reconciled themselves to the condition, that the only consistent way in which Scripture could convey to us such an enigmatical and puzzling doctrine, was by a method which should engage the most tortuous, adroit, and mazy ingenuity of the human faculties in seeking for results that must partake of the character of the process for reaching them. Roman Catholic critics acknowledge manfully, as did Dr. Newman while he was yet an Oxford divine, that the Trinity is not a Bible doctrine, but a Church doctrine, and that our knowledge and recognition of it and its authority rest for us on the same basis as does the substitution of the Christian Sunday for the Jewish Sabbath. And if the method by which Trinitarians hunt through the Bible for intimations and implications of the doctrine of the Trinity be a repulsive one, not the less uninviting is the task of answering all such arguments by a similar process. Since the doctrine gained currency in the world, and found a positive statement in many creeds, the Scriptures have been translated into the vernacular languages of Christendom under the bias of a Trinitarian belief. The present Archbishop of Canterbury, who ought to be the highest of human authorities, speaks, in his discourse on Apostolic Preaching, of "the many passages of Scripture which have suffered by the general bias of the age in which our translation was made," — the bias of Calvinism. Those who have argued for the Trinity, having started with a bias, helped by their ingenuity and guided by their fancy, have, with a vast deal of pains, gone through the whole Bible, trying to

* Treatise on Biblical Criticism, Vol. II. pp. 441-448. We may add, that Dr. Davidson, though a Trinitarian, is as decided in his rejection of 1 John v. 7, as "spurious," and in his accordance with the critical judgment which reads 1 Tim. iii. 16, "Great is that mystery of godliness *which* was manifested in the flesh," &c.

see how many intimations of this doctrine they could cull out. There has been an amazing amount of trifling exercised in this direction. Some who have ridiculed or censured the follies of Rabbinical and allegorical interpretation, or the puerilities of the Cabala, have rivalled these follies in their attempts to find hints of the Trinity in sentences whose writers evidently never dreamed of the doctrine. Thus the use of the Hebrew plural in the word (Elohim) for God, and the use of the plural pronoun when "God said, Let *us* make man in our own image," modes of speech used to denote majesty or sovereignty, are urged in proof of a companionship in the Deity. Sentences are quoted asserting that no man hath seen or can see God, and are compared with other sentences which speak of manifestations of God to the patriarchs and others; and the conclusion is drawn, that the Jehovah of the Old Testament was the revealing Son, not the Father. Yet even then the chain of intended proofs breaks at one link, while another link is in the welding; for if a manifestation of one person in the Trinity was impossible, how could there be a manifestation of another person in it? Again, the assertion is quoted as from God, that he "will not give his glory to another," and then an argument is raised to show that the honors of God are assigned to Christ; while the inference follows that Christ is God.

We have no heart for going through this unnatural, this offensive task of tracing the windings of this textual ingenuity, or of answering its characteristic results. The process has no natural limitations or rules, because it has no reasonable basis, no first grounds. It is all a forced work, and fancy will make more or less of it according as it is pursued by those who have more or less of fancy,—fancy, however, of a very inferior sort.

For we have to object once more, that the Scriptures bear a positive testimony against this doctrine of the Trinity, by insisting upon the absolute Unity of God. Trinitarians think that they recognize the force of these reiterated and emphatic assertions of Scripture by afterwards gathering up into one God those whom they have made three divine persons. But as the analysis was forced, the synthesis must be strained. As the ingenuity of the human mind could alone devise the triplicate dis-

tion, the same ingenuity has to nullify its own work to construct the Unity. Trinitarians do indeed assure us that there is no incongruity, nothing inconceivable, in the essential substance of their doctrinal statement. But we must be judges as to that matter, certainly so far as our own minds are concerned. Our minds assure us that violence must be done to the most explicit statements of every page of Scripture, before it can be made to yield to us the doctrine of the Trinity.

We object, finally, to this doctrine, that we know its origin to have been, not in the Scriptures, but outside of them. It was the Greek Philosophy of Alexandria, and not the Hebrew or Christian Theology of Jerusalem, that gave birth to this doctrine. We can trace its fount, its spring, its incomings. There is no historical fact more fully supported than that of the addiction of the Church Fathers to the study of the Greek Philosophy; they loved it, they fondly pursued it, they were infected by it, their speculations were influenced by it, their Christian faith received intermixture from it. Dr. Cæsar Morgan acknowledges this fact most candidly, though he pursues a critical examination of all the passages in Plato which are thought to contain references to an ante-Christian Trinity, for the sake of proving that the Fathers did not get the doctrine from the philosopher. But the argument which he assails does not yield to his assault upon it. We might as well dispute whether an ancient tragedy, whose catastrophe turns on Fate, were of Grecian or Jewish origin, as debate the issue whether a theosophical fiction concerning the Godhead, which involves the most acute subtilty of philosophy, sprang from the Abrahamic faith or from Hellenic Gnosticism. The history of the doctrine of the Trinity makes to us an evident display of a development, an amplification and steady augmentation, from a germ which was forced into an artificial growth. It was an evolved doctrine which was constantly seeking to define itself, which was never at rest, and which never has been at rest under any of the definitions which it has found for itself. A comparison of the three old creeds, the so-called Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian, with a reference to their dates, will unmistakably reveal of what processes and elements the doctrine of the Trinity is the product.

We return now to that great doctrine of controverted theology, the Deity of Christ, to maintain which, as we have said, the doctrine of a Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the Godhead is so strenuously asserted in Orthodox creeds. Very many Trinitarians have candidly acknowledged the force of one or all of the objections which have just been hinted at. They allow that the Trinitarian scheme is burdened with the most serious perplexities to the understanding, that it is not simply a mystery, like some of the other tenets of their faith, but a confounding and puzzling enigma, teasing their minds, rather than yielding them an instructive idea,—straining their comprehension instead of enlightening it. And yet those who most candidly make this allowance insist, with their fellow-believers, upon the vital truth and importance of the doctrine of the Trinity as involving the essential doctrine of the Deity of Christ. This latter doctrine then presents itself to us as really the primary rudiment of a scheme of which, in other aspects, it claims to be only one of the conditions and consequences. A Trinity is insisted upon in order that it may include the Deity of Christ, and then the Deity of Christ is affirmed as an element of the Trinity. We do not err in saying that the doctrine now before us is charged with the double obligation of sustaining its own truth, and also that of the doctrine of the Trinity, by the positive authority of the Scriptures. Orthodoxy has a dogma on this point, but Unitarianism has no dogma, except in the quality of denying a dogma. Let the issue be fairly understood. The question is not whether the Scriptures do or do not assign to Jesus Christ an exalted and mysterious nature and range of being, which lifts him above the sphere of humanity. The question is not whether from what is revealed of the Saviour we can fashion a full and satisfactory theory, which will make him to us a perfectly intelligible and well-defined being, holding a fixed place on the scale between man and God. But the question is this: Do all the offices and functions and honors assigned to Jesus Christ exhibit him as undistinguishable from God in time and essence and underived existence, and in self-centred, inherent qualities? Is he, or is he not, presented to us as a fractional part of the Godhead,—the object, not the medium, of prayer,—the source, not the

agent, of redemption, — the substitute, not the representative, of Jehovah, — as the occupant of heaven's high throne, not as seated "by the right hand" of the Supreme? We are not to be driven, as to a sole alternative, to the affirming that Christ was a man, because he was not God, nor to the holding ourselves bound to show what he was less than God, nor yet to the assigning him a sphere of his own distinct at every point from that of Deity, because we say that the New Testament presents him as receiving everything from the Father. What that everything *includes*, it would be presumptuous in us to define; but it is not presumptuous in us to say that it *excludes* underived prerogatives. There is indeed large room for choice amid the range of speculative opinions which Unitarianism has covered on this point, in seeking to find a substitute for the Trinitarian opinion. The office which we have assigned to ourselves in this review of the substantial issues of a protracted controversy, does not require an elaborate and exhaustive statement of Unitarian views on this point. We have but to present the antagonistic positions of the parties in this controversy.

If there are two connected truths taught with emphatic and reiterated distinctness in the New Testament, — or rather we should say, if there are two such truths taken for granted there, — they are that of the sole and simple unity of God the Father, and that of the derived and dependent relation to him of Jesus Christ. In order to secure distinctness and clearness of thought upon Scripture doctrine, we must subordinate the Son to the Father, and having done this to take our first step in Christian faith, we cannot complete our progress in that faith by confounding the Son with the Father. We must distinguish between that being who appeared in Judæa as a messenger from God, and the God whose messenger he was. The office of Christ in warming and clothing and making welcome to us what otherwise would have been a cold and naked and distant doctrine of Deism, appears to us exceedingly unlike what it is represented to have been by the excellent Dr. Arnold. Often, and most approvingly, triumphantly indeed, has the following remark of his been quoted: —

“ While I am most ready to allow the provoking and most ill-judged language in which the truth as I hold it to be respecting God has been expressed by Trinitarians, so, on the other hand, I am inclined to think that Unitarians have deceived themselves by fancying that they could understand the notion of one God any better than that of God in Christ; whereas it seems to me, that it is only of God in Christ that I can in my present state of being conceive anything at all. To know God the Father, that is, God as he is in himself, in his to us incomprehensible essence, seems the great and most blessed promise reserved for us when this mortal shall have put on immortality.”*

There is a singular confusion of thought and inconsistency of sentiment in these sentences, which glance off from a beautiful truth into a foggy fancy. Christ comes to facilitate our conceptions of God, to be the medium for our vision, our confidence, and our knowledge of God, to make clearer and stronger to us the sublime truth of Deity; and Christ effects this, Dr. Arnold implies, by substituting himself for the Being whom he represents, reveals, and brings nearer to us! If from our own point of view we can discern any change which in process of years will be sure to manifest itself in the technics of theology, it is this, — that theologians who have been so long trying to accommodate this doctrine of some sort of a Trinity to their belief, will surrender it altogether at the very point at which they have felt bound to accept it; namely, that point at which a committal to the doctrine of the Trinity has been thought essential to the defence of the Deity of Christ.

Unitarianism is committed to this fundamental position, that, however exalted, however mysterious, however undefined by limitations in a divine or a human direction, may be the nature and the rank of Jesus Christ, he is not presented to us in the Gospel as claiming the undervived prerogatives of Deity; nor, consequently, as an object of our homage or prayer. All those reiterated commonplaces of reproach cast upon us, — of denying the Lord that bought us, — of defrauding him of his due honor, — of relying for salvation on a created being, — are based upon assumptions which suppose us to yield in one form what we object to under another form of

* Letter to William Smith, Esq., March 9, 1833, in *Life* by Stanley.

doctrine. It is a gross perversion of the Apostle's language to say that he meant, by a denial of the Lord, a denial of him as our God: we do not defraud Jesus of his due honor, when we honor him for what he is, precisely as we honor God for what He is; and if we rely on the being "whom God has set forth to be our Prince and Saviour," we feel that the reliance is worthy of our trust. We certainly cannot be said to withhold the honor due to Christ, if, persuaded as we are that he always, and in the strongest terms of definite precept, claims our supreme homage for his Father and our Father, we restrict the tribute paid to himself within the limitations of religious awe. We do not understand the object of the Gospel to be to give us an idea of a complexity of personality in the Godhead, but to exalt, refine, and render practically effective the old reverence associated with the unchangeable Jehovah. Christ, we think, came into the world to show us the Father, not to divide our homage with the Father. He came to lead us to God, not to draw us to himself as our God. He continually, and with much variety of language, refers us to One above himself, without whom he could do nothing, the Source of all his powers and gifts, the Being before whom he was himself to bring and lay down the tokens of his fulfilled commission. He forbids all homage or supplication addressed to himself, and enjoins that such exercises be offered to God.

Unitarians, therefore, are concerned to hold and to vindicate the sole unity, the undivided sovereignty, of God. If any spiritual penalty is to be visited upon us here or hereafter for our opinion or our teaching on this point, we must submit to bear it. We do and shall plead, however, that some one emphatic sentence — one at least — ought to have been uttered by the Saviour in assertion of his underived Deity, equal in the positiveness of its statement to that of a hundred sentences in which he affirms his subordination to God.

If the proportions and the completeness of a view, however summary, did not require it, we would most gladly omit all reference to that very unwelcome work of following the argument for the Deity of Christ into those ambushes of sentences, half-sentences, and phrases called texts, — proof-texts, — in which it is thought to hide.

We can urge ourselves only to the very briefest recognition of this element in the controversy. The processes for constructing and for answering what is called argument on this point, are precisely like those already referred to in connection with a plea for or against the doctrine of the Trinity. A conception which has originated outside of the Scriptures, from the exigencies of speculation and theorizing, is ingeniously carried into a textual examination of the Scriptures, and is made to claim support from them by pleas which would not be considered valid in the interpretation of any other documents. Happily, however, long and free discussion has simplified the terms of this questionable method. The marvellous discovery has been made by a most careful and candid student of the works of Christian divines, that each single text and each single process of reasoning by which Trinitarianism has sought to prove its Scriptural authority, has been surrendered as wholly unavailable for that purpose by a series of writers of highest eminence and scholarship in various Trinitarian communions.* Yet more remarkable, too, is the fact, that in the very closest proximity to the sentences or the half-sentences which are claimed as intimating, darkly or clearly, the Deity of Christ, are found other sentences of a most explicit character which are in direct opposition to such an inference.

The first sentences of John's Gospel are quoted triumphantly by Trinitarians, with this brief comment: Christ is the Word; the Word is said to be God; therefore Christ is God. Now suppose in those sentences we substitute, not only *Christ* in place of the *Word*, but also a Trinitarian equivalent for God. That equivalent must be either the term *Father*, or the term *Trinity*. We will try both of them, thus: "In the beginning was Christ, and Christ was with the Father, and Christ was the Father." That will not do. "In the beginning was Christ, and Christ was with the Trinity, and Christ was the Trinity." Neither will that do.

We are reminded that Jesus enjoined "that all men should honor the Son, even as they honor the Father." (John v. 23.) But do the words "*even as*," when so

* See "Concessions of Trinitarians, &c.," by John Wilson.

used, imply identity of being in two who are to be honored, or that an identical regard is required for each? Can we not honor the Son for what he is, even as we honor the Father for what He is? Is it an unusual thing for a principal in sending a deputy on an embassy to ask for his representative a regard conformed to what would be paid to himself? For Jesus himself adds, "He that honoreth not the Son, honoreth not the Father which hath sent him,"—certainly recognizing his own dependence.

We are reminded that Thomas, on recognizing his Master by his wounds, exclaims, "My Lord, and my God!" (John xx. 28,) and the Trinitarian insists that he applied both terms to the Saviour. But must Thomas be precluded from the possibility of having both Christ and God in his mind in that moment of surprise and earnest outbursting of emotion? Could he not apostrophize the Deity as we ourselves do under excitement on far lesser occasions?

We are reminded that the martyr Stephen, rapt in a vision of glory at his death, "Saw Jesus standing on the right hand of God." (Acts vii. 55.) He saw *two* beings then. But our translators have introduced into a subsequent verse the word *God*, which is not in the original, thus: "And they stoned Stephen, calling upon *God*, and saying, Lord Jesus," instead of "calling out and saying, Lord Jesus," &c. (verse 59.)

We are reminded that Jesus says, "I and my Father are one." (John x. 30.) But does he not twice pray that his disciples may be in the same unity which exists between him and his Father? "That they may be one, as we are." (John xvii. 11.) "That they all may be one: as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us." (verse 21.)

We are reminded of Paul's assertion, that "all things are put under Christ." (1 Cor. xv. 27.) But does not the Apostle add, as if to guard against all possibility of misconception,— "It is manifest that He is excepted who did put all things under him; and when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto Him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all"?

We are reminded that the same Apostle says of Christ (Coloss. i. 16), whom he has just called "the first-born

of every creature": "For by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth," &c. But when the Apostle proceeds to add, "For it pleased the Father that in him should all fulness dwell," (verse 19,) he leaves us to infer that all things were created and disposed *with reference* to Christ: "All things were created by him and for him."

We are reminded that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews quotes a Psalm as addressing the Son, thus: "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever!" (i. 8.) But saying nothing of the sufficient reasons for reading the passage, "God is thy throne for ever and ever," what are we to do with the next verse, which says: "Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows"?

But even this hopeless method of attempting to deduce from scattered sentences or half-sentences the proof of a doctrine which is positively precluded by contiguous sentences of the plainest import,—even this task must be pursued under the pressure of a necessity for proving that Christ, himself one in the Trinity of the Godhead, united in his own person a divine nature and a human nature. If that dogma did not take its start in a complete renunciation of the natural demand that an intelligible idea should be connected with every positive assertion, the dogma would have to yield itself at a very early stage of the process for pursuing it through the New Testament. Now an Apostle tells us, that we ourselves are "partakers of the divine nature"; but we interpret the words as teaching us that this gift of God in us distinguishes us from brutes and makes us *men*,—not men *and God*; still less does it make us partakers in the *underived prerogative of Deity*,—divine in our own right. We institute no comparison between the measurements of the divine gift in us, and that in Christ, for we believe there is no room for such a comparison, as Christ had the spirit of God without measure. But a gift, however unlimited in its measurement, does not change the receiver into the giver, nor transfer the original prerogative of self-centring fulness of essence. The more such a gift imparts, the more does it strengthen the difference between its source and its re-

ceiver as such, and the closer does it make the dependence of its object upon its original. This fiction of a double nature in Christ does not cover the phenomena for the explanation of which theologians have recourse to it. Jesus says of his highest gifts and powers, those which in him are most exalting and most divine, that he received them from the Being who also gave him a body for the manifestation of them. We might possibly conceive of Deity under a form of flesh, and listen to the speech of the tongue which should refer its wisdom to the indwelling God. But what if the indwelling Spirit refers us to the Source of which it is a ray? The qualities in Christ which lift him nearest to the Supreme are the very ones to which he most emphatically assigns the proof of his dependence upon God. All power in heaven and on earth is his; but not self-possessed,—for he says it was *given* to him. He had power to lay down his life, and he had power to take it again, and that, too, he had “*received from the Father.*” When a believer in the double nature of Christ—that is, as defined by the popular theology—undertakes to go through the New Testament, and assign his words and deeds respectively to his Deity or his humanity, he will find that he gathers a reserved list of qualities and elements of a doubtful reference. As these present themselves, the inquirer is forced to ask, Did Christ say this as God or as man? Often will such a process make it appear that what Christ is represented as saying or doing in his human nature is above the sphere of humanity, and that what is affirmed of him in his divine nature is below the sphere of Deity.

And what becomes of the individuality, the personality of Christ, the consistency of his character, and the identity of his consciousness, when in the sacred drama of his Gospel manifestation he is represented as performing in two parts, and without change of fleshly garb or tone or speech lays aside now his Deity and now his humanity in alternate moments and in successive sentences of his discourse? His prayers must be construed as soliloquies: his deeds of power must be referred to himself, and his professions of dependence to one element of that self, speaking of another element in the same self. The incongruity, the incoherence, which the Orthodox

doctrine of two natures in Christ either puts into or draws from the Scriptures, is not the least of the confounding conditions of the theory. When an individual speaks of himself to others, they understand him as speaking of all that is embraced under his seeming and his real individuality. Unless he has announced himself as representing two characters, and as free to pass from the one impersonation into the other without giving warning of the transition, his two characters will be regarded as making up one character, and some deeds and utterances which would have been intelligible if assigned to either of his impersonations, become inexplicable if referred to his composite character. Only through the help of an illustration—for which, however, we need not apologize, as the candid will recognize the simple intent of a parallelism at only one point—can we express the real embarrassment which we meet in attempting to deal with the theory of a double nature in Christ. Let it be allowed us, then, to conceive of a man who is concerned in business under two relations,—first as an individual, and second as a member of a firm of three partners. Under each of these relations he receives and writes letters, meets at his two offices those with whom he has dealings, and speaks and acts under the exigencies of his double mercantile connections. As a member of the firm he has visited its place of business, consulted its books, and read letters which have made known to him certain facts of a very serious import and interest to others. He goes to his place for transacting the business which he does on his private account. While there, a friend, who is deeply concerned in the very matters of which he has just come to the knowledge, enters and asks for information about them, addressing him as an individual possessing one mind, one consciousness. He replies that he knows nothing about the matter, keeping in reserve, however, the explanation which he makes to himself, that he means that his private letters are silent on the subject. Does he deal fairly with his questioner, especially if that questioner has appealed to him on the very ground of his well-known extended and various relations to the business affairs of the world, and perhaps on the day previous has heard him speak in that character? Precisely this question would be continually

presenting itself to us in embarrassing and painful shapes if we accepted the theory of a double nature in Christ, under which, when questioned as an individual on the ground of all he ever claimed to know and to be, he replied according to his choice of characters for the moment, by a claim founded on his Deity, or a profession of limited knowledge or ignorance justified by his humanity. The Jews understood that the same individuality of being addressed them in the words, "I can of mine own self do nothing," as in the words, "I will raise him up at the last day." Not the least intimation does the Saviour appear to have given to his disciples in their privacy, that the mystery which invested him was to be solved by distributing his words and deeds, his claims of unlimited power, and his acknowledgments of dependence upon one above him, to two natures united in him. If he had two natures he must have borne two characters, and his discourses and actions must be referred respectively to the one or the other, so far as is possible. But when ingenuity has exhausted itself in this task, it will still have to account for phenomena attendant upon the Saviour which are referable neither to a Self-Existent and Infinite God, nor to any manifestation ever yet made of human nature. We reject this theological figment of a double nature, as a pure invention of human brains, a Gnostic conceit, unwarranted by the record, and unavailable for the solution of the mystery which invests the Messiah. The Gospel is not chargeable with it.

But after Unitarians have formed and avowed a most positive and unqualified conviction, as the characteristic distinction of their creed, that Jesus Christ is not presented to us in the Scriptures as claiming the underived prerogatives of Deity, nor as the object of our worship or our ultimate trust, Unitarians have to answer to themselves and to others the question which the Saviour puts to all his disciples, "What think ye of Christ?" It is indeed a matter for thought, for serious and perplexing thought. The field over which that thought will range is so wide, and men will bring to it such various capacities, methods, and biases, that they will find themselves led to speculate towards different conclusions. Obvious it is to every candid mind, of whatever sect, that there is nothing in the fixed fundamental tenet of Uni-

tarianism on this point, which prevents our rising to the highest possible conception of the nature, the offices, and the agency of Christ. Trinitarians sometimes speak of us as if, in denying an underived divinity to Christ, we actually deprived ourselves of a God in whom we might trust, and left the central throne of heaven empty because we do not seat upon it the vicegerent of the Most High. We can tell them that our doctrine gives to us the same God whom they worship, and another being, — yes, a Divine Being besides. We know of nothing that hinders but that God may impart, may delegate, any measurement of his own properties, save simply that of self-existence. And as the properties of God are infinite, the One who partakes of them in the highest measurement must be exalted above human powers of conception for defining the compass of his *nature*, leaving, however, one single limiting distinction, — that, as there can be but One Infinite, Self-Existent, Supreme, the Son must be subordinated to the Father. And this is the truth which is in part declared and in part intimated in the Saviour's own affirmation, "My Father is greater than I." The declaration subordinates Christ to God, the intimation exalts Christ all but infinitely above humanity. It would be preposterous, for a being standing in human form among men, to utter the blank and stolid conceit of owning his inferiority to God. A distinctive exaltation above the sphere of humanity is the essence of the meaning of that utterance. The pointing upwards to the one who is *Highest* as the only one who is *higher*, distinguishes Christ alike from Deity and from humanity. The universe of being is to us enriched by an additional being, through the view which we entertain of Christ. The awful vacuum between the loftiest partakers of angelic natures and the Supreme has now a radiant occupant, who fills the whole of it. That Unitarians are disposed to conceive of Christ under the highest exposition which the strongest phrase or sentence of Scripture makes of him, is an admission which they will not ask of the charity, for they demand it of the justice, of their opponents. How absurd it is to charge us with derogating from the claims or the honor of Jesus! Such censorious words imply a motive which we know is not in our hearts. What possible induce-

ment could we have to entertain it? Between us and other Christians, what different influences in purpose or inclination can be traced, which would warrant such an impugning of our sincerity as is implied in these odious charges? To derogate from the just claims or honor of another, to reduce his dignity, or to withhold his rightful tribute, implies always a mean or a malignant feeling; and if Unitarians deserve such a charge, let it be spoken boldly, in manly candor, and not intimated by covert insinuations. During the progress of this controversy many an Orthodox preacher in city and country pulpits, relying upon his own conceit, or trusting to the oracular authority which he may have with those who are willing to listen to him as a teacher of Christian truth, has ventured to tell them in unqualified terms, "Unitarians degrade and deny the Saviour." It is difficult to suppose that any one can so speak of *professed Christians*, without communicating to himself at least a glow of unchristian passion, even if the language were not suggested by such a feeling. But imagine these preachers to have substituted some such language as this: "Unitarians, with all the means of knowing the truth which I myself have, and in the exercise of a desire, which I have no right to think is not as thoroughly sincere and pure as my own desire, to discover what the truth is, believe that Christ, however exalted he may be, is not identical with God." We venture to say that this latter style of address, if it had prevailed, would have given us a better opinion of the candor of Orthodox preachers in seeking to instruct large classes of those who are disposed to listen to them most confidently, than we have now.

Our sole aim and wish are to gather from the New Testament as intelligible and adequate a conception as is possible of Jesus Christ. We are concerned to do this through the force of two equally serious and sincere motives,—the one having in view the strength and clearness of our own mental and spiritual apprehension of him as the Messiah, the other looking to a reverent gratitude to Christ himself in assigning him his place in our hearts. We wish to think rightly of Christ, in order that we may believe in him, may rest our confidence in his authority and his sufficiency; and in order that we may love him, as he made our affection the highest con-

dition for putting us into such a relation to him as will constitute him our Saviour. It is simply and wholly through force of convictions wrought by a serious study of the Scriptures, that Unitarians, who agree in a denial of the Deity of Christ, are led to differ in their metaphysical views of him. Their differences range over the whole field of conception between an idea of Christ as a man miraculously endowed, and an idea of him as the sharer of God's throne, his counsellor and companion, holding rank above all other orders of being, and touching upon the prerogatives of Deity. To some, the Arian hypothesis of Christ as pre-existent, ranking above all angels, and dwelling before all worlds were made in the bosom of God, has been a favorite conviction. To others, this hypothesis is barren of all that gives to a high theme of faith its glow and grandeur, as it vainly attempts to exalt Christ chiefly by extending his existence through a longer space of time. Others still insist that the very last question suggested by the New Testament, as a matter of concern to us, is that of Christ's nature, inasmuch as we are interested only in his office, and have to do with him only as a visitor to this earth for the especial purposes of revelation which he has now fulfilled. And yet again, we have met on Unitarian pages an accepted use of the phrase "the eternal generation of the Son." We know that those who use this phrase neither intend to utter an absurdity, nor to signify that they are saying something while yet they say nothing. Still we are sure that we do not get their idea, for we get no idea at all from their words. The generation of a son, or the birth of a son, indicates an event, an incident that transpires at some point in time. Now if the epithet *mysterious*, or *original*, or *undated*, or a like epithet, was connected with the word, we should acknowledge the presence of an idea; but to connect *eternal* with the *generation* of anything, if it effects any purpose, takes back in one of the words what is asserted in the other. Happily, however, it is an understood canon of language that every idea, if it is an idea which requires two words to express it, may be stated in at least two ways,—generally in several ways, but always in two. Now if those who use the phrase "the eternal generation of the Son," as expressing a point in their

belief, will put their idea into another form of expression, we may perhaps be helped to understand their meaning.

Those Unitarians who regard Jesus as presented to us under a simply human aspect, hold this opinion not necessarily through the force of any prejudice, but as the transcript and substance of what they think the plain New Testament teaching upon it. They believe that miraculous endowments from God on a basis of pure humanity — complemented, perfected, and inspired manhood — fill out every representation there made of Christ, account for all he was and did, ratify all that he taught or promised, adapt him to all our necessities as a “high-priest touched with the feelings of our infirmities,” as “the faithful and true witness” of God, and as “able to save unto the uttermost those who come unto God by him.” And when those who thus believe are taunted or challenged for relying, — as the rebuke is worded, — for “relying for salvation on a created being,” they have but to answer, that they no more rely for their salvation than they did for their existence upon a *created being*, as their reliance is simply and ultimately upon God, though it may be mediately upon any agency or method which God may have chosen. For if God chose a created being to be the medium of our salvation, as he made created beings to be the mediums of our existence, his power and wisdom in the choice of such an agency or method are not to be questioned, while “the grace is still the same.” If any one should refuse to accept the proffer of salvation through such an agency, as too humble or inadequate, he might be reminded of the rebuke conveyed to the Syrian leper by his servant, when he compared the river of Israel so contemptuously with Abana and Pharpar. This taunt of relying for salvation on a created being is meant, of course, to convey the idea that the Scriptures teach that not only the Source, but the *Mediator*, of our salvation is an uncreated being. But this, however, opens again the whole question as to what the teaching of Scripture on this point is. Let that sole, simple issue stand clear of all such taunts upon those who, as sincerely and as intelligently as others who come to different conclusions, are brought to the belief that Christ is presented to us in

Scripture as the perfection of humanity, or, in the words of Peter, as, "a man approved of God by miracles, and wonders, and signs which God did by him."

Yet others among the Unitarians have been as strenuous as have been any of the believers in the Trinity in rejecting this humanitarian view of Christ. Earnest have been the protests of many among us against that view. Some have firmly believed that the truth lay wholly in an opposite direction, and so have embraced the theory of the pre-existence, the super-angelic glory of Christ, as being the first-born of the creation of God, constituting a sacred companionship in the otherwise lonely majesty of heaven, the sharer and almost the equal in essence with the Supreme, waiting that fulness of time which should bring him in human form to this earth. One may hold this belief as millions have held it, and still be in all strictness a Unitarian; for Unitarianism is committed simply to a distinction between God and Christ,—a distinction which subordinates Christ to God. Certainly here is a wide range for faith,—wide enough for every phase of mental conception, wide enough to fill out every form of language, every shaping of thought, which we find in the Scriptures. We must distinguish between God and Christ, and the attempt to confound them would to us require a yielding up of the most explicit statements of the New Testament, which give added distinctness to our conceptions of both those beings by assigning to each a work that individualizes their relation to us. Even though, in the work of redemption, and in the manifestation made to us of the Father in the Son, there is a blending of their glory, and we find it hard to separate their office and agency, they are still seen to part at the very point in which they are in closest union; just as when a powerful telescope is turned towards one of those sparkling orbs which glitter in the midnight sky, it seems to the eye to be single, but the keenest gaze resolves it into a double star, one of which is of the first magnitude, and the other of which is not. Dr. Woods (in his Ninth Letter to Unitarians) says that the distinction between the Father and the Son "is of such a nature that they are *two*, and are in Scripture represented to be two as *really* as Moses and Aaron, though not in a sense inconsistent with their es-

sential unity." The obvious meaning of the last clause of this sentence is, evidently, not the meaning which the writer intended to convey ; but conveniently for himself, though disappointingly to us, he stops short of conveying what meaning he must have thought he had in his own mind.

It seems to us that some of the highest and most precious uses for which God was manifested in the person of Christ, are wholly sacrificed when Christ is merged back into Deity. Some of our own writers, in the sedate calmness of written discourse, as well as in the loftiest strains of their devotional rhetoric, have expressed their earnest belief in " the Incarnation of God," and have spoken of Christ, not simply as the Incarnate Word of God, but as the Incarnate God. It is evident that the use of this phrase must involve some of those indeterminate and undefined significations attaching to phraseology, the materials of which are metaphysical, while its purpose is to convey a most literal and direct meaning. The phrase is burdened not only with all the wealth and majesty of Christian conceptions, but also with all the poverty and meanness of Hindoo doctrines. In fact, it is one of those phrases which indicates either a doubtful fancy, or an adequate and intelligible and satisfactory interpretation of one of the highest conceptions of the spirit,—according to the companionship which it may find in the other religious ideas of each human mind. But our point is this: that Jesus Christ is presented to us as a real and distinct being,—as a real individuality, not merely as the medium of a manifestation. To resolve him back into Deity, while it makes no addition to the Godhead, deprives us of a being nearer to our conceptions, and more available to some of our highest needs of guidance, knowledge, and confidence. The moon we know receives all its light from the sun, imparting only to us the brightness and blessing which it has received. But having received those rays from its source, it has a power of concentrating and reflecting them, and that power in the moon of concentrating and reflecting the rays of the sun is the subsidiary condition which makes the moon a helpful orb to us. The sun would have no perceptible increase of light if it called in the beams which it lends to our

beautiful satellite, but then we should lose one of heaven's fairest objects. If it were to be proved that there really is no organized body answering to what we call the moon, but that the sun's rays not only gild, but also by some wondrous process create, the appearance of such an orb, by casting a blazing focus like a spectrum into one spot amid the mists of heaven, the realms of space would be deprived of a solid body, and in place of it we should have a phantasm. Similar would be the loss among the objects of our religious faith and devotional eliance, if Christ, as a distinct reality, is resolved into a radiation of God. We believe, indeed, that his light is not his own, yet we also believe that that light does not create a phantom form, but is concentrated and reflected by the Son, who "has life" and being "in himself."

Nor is it only in the earthly offices and ministry of Christ that we find reason to distinguish him from God. The straits of devotion, trust, aspiration, and religious experience are relieved by a firm belief in him who is seated at the right hand of the Supreme, still intrusted with the mission which thirty years of an earthly ministry did not complete. We believe in the present existence of Christ, not as God, but as Christ. We believe in his present agency for his Church. The Scriptures positively affirm that he is now watching over his own work, advancing his own cause. He is called our Advocate and Intercessor with the Father. Christian trust and love, and the conscious want and dependence of the heart, can fill out the meaning of those terms if — and only if — Christ is still existing, not as God, but as *Christ*. It is utterly impossible to give any natural or intelligible meaning to those terms, if we call Christ God; for then we have God interceding with God, and we lose our Mediator. Trinitarianism teaches that Christ parted with all that in him and about him was not God when he left the earth, and in dropping the flesh, which alone brought him into sympathy of nature with us, returned to the sky in the simple exaltation of Deity. If so, his separate ministry for us has ceased. But we need it still, and never more than since he has passed into the heavens. We need him still, as a being distinguishable by our thought and faith from God, that he may lead us up to God, and reconcile us to God.

The Trinitarian view of him now is but a barren theory of metaphysics to us. Reliance upon his written teachings is but a cold, didactic exercise, unless quickened by faith in an ever-living Christ.

The candor with which we have aimed to pursue this discussion requires of us one frank confession at its close. We are concerned to state with emphasis the fact that, as one result of the controversy on this point, there has been a marked and most edifying change in the prevailing tone of Unitarian discourse upon the offices and the agency of Christ. We are willing, too, to admit our indebtedness to some cautions and remonstrances from our doctrinal opponents, while we also affirm that our experiences within our own fold and within our own breasts have ratified these remonstrances as not wholly uncalled for and as highly salutary to us. Not forgetting the many tracts and essays and sermons by early Unitarians, whose fervor of faith and exalted trust in the mediatorial and superhuman offices of Christ fed the piety of multitudes of our cherished and sainted dead, we admit that some of high repute among us have favored what are called low, and chilling, and inadequate views of the Author and Finisher of our faith. One of the least available uses which Christ serves to us is that of an "Example," simply because the availableness of an example consists in exciting and aiding us to imitate it, and our imitation of Christ must necessarily be at so fearfully long and hopeless a distance, that even to lay much stress on his being an example to us would be more apt to mislead us into an over-confidence in ourselves as imitators, than to an adequate conception of that perfect being. We may imitate some actions of the Saviour, — but to imitate *him* is a task which means more than the words convey. If we were to spend a lifetime on the study of Newton's Principia, and were to undertake to verify every process in his deductions, we should be disposed to take the name of a disciple, rather than that of an imitator of Newton. Have not Unitarians overlooked some of the proportions of truth in speaking of Christ as an example? There may have been no speculative error in this, seeing that Christ set before us God himself as our example. But if that has been to any a paramount view of Christ, it may have practically obscured some of his other offices.

Nor does the epithet "Teacher" suit any high devotional conception of Christ. When curious dividers of the word of truth have proclaimed that every didactic lesson, every precept, every moral truth, taught by Christ, may be paralleled by a quotation from Hebrew or classic pages, what is there left to signalize him as a teacher? True, we may sublimate the word Teacher, and make it embrace the authority, the evidences, and the attractions of the lessons conveyed by the only perfect and heaven-attested Teacher; but that is connecting the epithet with Christ rather for the sake of exalting the word than for the purpose of giving him his highest title. The distinction of a teacher is his doctrine, and when that doctrine so far transcends any other teaching as to embrace not only the loftiest lessons, but also the influences, the appeals, and the aid which give them their power over the soul, the functions of a Teacher are absorbed in the offices of a Saviour. A didactic view of the Gospel has found perhaps an excess and disproportion of favor among Unitarians.

"You do not make enough of Christ," has been the remonstrance addressed to us. We have listened to it. If it ever offended us, it shall henceforward be of service to us. We believe that it has been of service to us, for the reason that some in our own communion have made it a self-reproaching accusation, which has warmed their hearts and deepened their Christian love. We have not made enough of Christ. No denomination of Christians makes enough of Christ. Unitarians, having been compelled to treat of Christ by methods which metaphysically subordinate him, have been in danger of losing sight of the best influence from him and of the conditions for securing it. We should be glad to feel that we have done with the metaphysical discussion, and may henceforward forego it, that we may give all our thought to the devotional, the spiritual apprehension of Christ. This is to us the great, the best result of the controversy.

Henceforth it shall be with less and less of reason furnished by us, that our opponents shall say, "You do not make enough of Christ." Having distinguished him from God, we feel all the more our need of him to guide us to God, to manifest God to us. We recognize in our own deepest wants the craving to which he ministers.

We know and own that, in a Gospel which comes by Christ, Christ must be the foremost object, and that every sentiment engaged by that Gospel must yield some tribute of heart and soul to him. If in the ardor of controversy we have seemed to depreciate any office of Christ, or, in our jealousy for the prerogative of the Supreme, to forget any of our obligations of love and reverence to his Messiah, we can say that it has been so only in the seeming, and not in reality. If in the spirit of charity our opponents have charged us with our seeming error on this point, we thank them for it. We would, however, remind them, that we are not driven to such a mistake by any exigencies of our doctrinal position, as denying the Trinity and the underived Deity of Christ. "To us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him." (1 Cor. viii. 6.) Our negations may be the most striking characteristic of our creed to its opponents; but our positive faith is the condition of its power and truth and value to ourselves.

G. E. E.

ART. IV.—MACAULAY'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.*

It is just seven years since the first two volumes of Mr. Macaulay's History of England were given to the public. The second volume closed with an account of the debates in the Convention Parliament of 1688, and of the different theories by which the statesmen of that age endeavored to meet the constitutional problem presented by the transfer of their allegiance to a new sovereign during the life of the exiled monarch. We have now two additional volumes, carrying forward the narrative from the proclamation of William and Mary, in February, 1689, to the public thanksgiving, in December, 1697, upon the conclusion of the treaty of Ryswick.

* *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second.* By THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY. Vols. III. and IV. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1855. 8vo. pp. xi. and 764, xii. and 836. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

This delay in the publication of the successive volumes is to be ascribed to various causes,—to the uncertain state of the author's health, the pressure of his Parliamentary duties, and the unrivalled extent and thoroughness of his researches among the forgotten literature of this important period. These considerations must relieve him from any reproach of negligence in the prosecution of his work. But when we take into view the brevity of human life and the fatality which has attended the labors of so many of the English historians, every one must feel a deep regret that so long an interval should have elapsed since we had occasion to speak of Mr. Macaulay's earlier volumes. It is not without satisfaction, therefore, that we have noticed his recent retirement from public life, though we sincerely regret its immediate cause. His political services in the great struggle for the Reform Bill, in India, and as a cabinet minister, were various and important. They constitute no small part of his claim to the regard of future generations. But it is certain that a far greater service can be rendered by him as the historian of England, than any that can just now be performed in Parliament. No man was ever more thoroughly furnished for such a work; and it is much to be hoped that in the retirement of private life he may possess the leisure and the strength to complete his History according to the original plan.

The style of these two volumes is less animated and picturesque than that of their predecessors. Occasionally, indeed, it must be admitted that it is somewhat prolix and heavy. But the new volumes have the same copiousness of illustration, are enriched by the same breadth and depth of historical knowledge, and are pervaded by the same wise and liberal philosophy, that were apparent in the earlier portions of this History. No man has ever more clearly understood the true manner in which history should be written than Mr. Macaulay, or more successfully reduced his theories of historical composition to practice. So far as it has proceeded, his History, notwithstanding some minor defects, must be regarded as the most perfect work of its kind in our language. Henceforth whoever would rise to the first rank among historians must, to a very great extent, follow the method which he has adopted in the preparation of this work.

In considering the elements of Mr. Macaulay's just fame as an historian, we are inclined to regard his profound political philosophy as even more deserving of praise than the breadth of his information upon all historical questions, his luminous narrative, or his careful discrimination of individual character. In treating of the events of that memorable period over which his narrative passes, and in his references to questions of a more recent date, he exhibits the large views of an enlightened statesman. The years he has spent in the public service have borne rich fruit in these volumes; and no one can doubt that this History is the better for that training which has made its author both a statesman and an historian. Yet it is certain that his work will be attacked with great virulence by those writers who have always opposed the political opinions which Mr. Macaulay has so often defended in the House of Commons, and which underlie his History and give character to it, and doubtless some unimportant mistakes may be discovered. It may, however, be safely asserted, that in no important particular can the accuracy of his narrative, or the fidelity of his portraits of the men of the age of William and Mary, or the soundness of the judgments pronounced upon their measures, be successfully assailed.

The reign of William and Mary witnessed the inauguration of a new era. The change in the succession had involved other and even more important changes affecting the social and political condition of the people. Ever since the introduction of the Reformed religion, a century and a half before, an animated and often doubtful struggle had been waged between Romanism and Protestantism. But by the passage of the Bill of Rights, Protestantism had gained a signal victory in the exclusion from the line of succession of all who should hold communion with the Romish Church, or who should marry a member of that Church. The long struggle was now at an end, and Protestantism was henceforth to be the dominant religion in the state. Parallel with this great conflict between the antagonistic religions, an equally embittered strife had been carried on between the friends of prerogative and the friends of privilege, — between those who upheld the doctrines of passive obedience and the indefeasible right of kings on the one

side, and those who sought to enlarge the powers of Parliament and win new rights for the people on the other. This struggle was also terminated by the Bill of Rights, which virtually established the doctrine that the people are the real and ultimate source of all authority, and introduced a new precedent in constitutional law. Thus this reign began with the triumph of liberal opinions both in politics and religion.

It was chiefly through the force of William's personal character that the fruits of these great victories were secured to posterity. He was a descendant of that remarkable man, William the Silent, whose life forms one of the principal points of interest in the history of the sixteenth century, and whose character has been so well delineated in Mr. Prescott's recent volumes. From his great-grandfather he had inherited some of the most striking traits in his intellectual character, and especially the cautious and reserved habits which were so remarkable in both. His manners were cold and austere, and his temper was irritable; but he was candid in the judgment which he formed of others, and magnanimous in his treatment of his enemies. His intellect was clear and penetrating; but his nature was not sympathetic, and he formed few friendships. When his affections, however, were aroused, they were strong and deep; and for those who could penetrate the reserve in which he wrapped himself, his friendship was warm and enduring. As a soldier he was brave, fearless, and energetic. As a negotiator he was unsurpassed by any of his contemporaries. As a sovereign he constantly labored to restore England to her true rank among nations. Yet he was not popular; and during his reign public morality in England touched its lowest point, and the nation well-nigh became bankrupt. Nor has he yet risen to that place in the regards of Englishmen which is due to him in virtue of his own greatness and the important services which he rendered to his adopted country. It is true that his fame has been steadily growing, as men have become farther and farther removed from the intrigues of that degenerate age. Mr. Hallam, who has traced a masterly survey of this period, and who pronounces William the greatest man of his age, has done much to vindicate his just fame; and the views of this grave and

impartial historian have been followed by some more recent writers. On the other hand, Miss Strickland neglects no opportunity to blacken his character and depreciate his services. Her *Life of Mary the Second* only affords a specimen of the ingratitude with which the memory of this great and wise prince is treated by a large class of English writers. It was reserved for Mr. Macaulay to render full justice to his noble qualities and his pre-eminent services to the cause of civil and religious freedom; and in these volumes we have such an account of the first part of his reign as must for ever establish his true position in English history.

The Revolution of 1688 was effected by a union of parties who had few bonds of sympathy except a common opposition to the tyranny of James. Under the pressure of his arbitrary measures, they had for a time dropped their differences. Whigs and Tories, High-Churchmen and Dissenters, had joined in the support of a common cause. But no sooner had the outward pressure been withdrawn than their old differences revived. These differences became fully apparent within a very few weeks after the accession of William, and greatly aggravated the numerous difficulties against which he had to contend. The enthusiasm with which he had been received upon his arrival in England rapidly cooled when the danger was over. A reaction took place; and many persons would have welcomed the return of James with more or less of cordiality. "If King James were a Protestant," said Halifax to Sir John Reresby soon after the Revolution had been accomplished, "we could not keep him out four months." And about the same time the Earl of Danby told the same person, that, "if King James would but give the country some satisfaction about religion, which he might easily do, it would be very hard to make head against him." With a public sentiment so ill regulated as this, William was not likely to find his path particularly smooth. Yet his early measures were adopted with consummate skill. He did not forget that the invitation sent to him in the preceding June had been signed by both Whigs and Tories. Upon coming to the throne, he divided the principal offices among the leaders of both parties. The management of the foreign affairs he wisely reserved for himself; for, as Mr. Macaulay

well remarks, "with the single exception of Sir William Temple, whom nothing would induce to quit his retreat for public life, there was no Englishman who had proved himself capable of conducting an important negotiation with foreign powers to a successful and honorable issue." * Danby, one of the most eminent leaders of the Tory party and a man of experience and ability, was made President of the Council. Halifax, the most distinguished man in that small party who have been designated as the Trimmers, and who aimed to preserve a middle course between the two great parties, was intrusted with the Privy Seal. Nottingham, another distinguished leader of the Tories, a man of upright character but irresolute and vacillating in his conduct, was one of the Secretaries of State. With him was associated the Earl of Shrewsbury, a young man of brilliant parts and rich promise, whose appointment was calculated in some degree to reconcile the Whigs to the favor shown to the Tories in the selection of Danby and Nottingham. Such were the men to whom William first intrusted the great offices in the government. They had all taken part in the Revolution, and by their services to his cause they had secured a claim to his gratitude. But their principles were antagonistic, and though it was not incompatible with the theory of the constitution as then understood, nor with the practice of previous monarchs, to associate in the management of affairs persons of discordant views and even of hostile feelings towards each other, it was scarcely possible that matters could now go on harmoniously between statesmen entertaining such widely different opinions. Dissensions were inevitable; and dissensions speedily arose.

In the mean time, however, the fickle multitude were fast forgetting that William had been the deliverer of their country. They remembered the courteous manners of Charles the Second, his lively conversation, his fondness for amusements, and his familiarity with his friends; and their recollections helped them to draw many comparisons to the disadvantage of the great soldier and statesman, who never showed himself at the theatre, stood absorbed in thought even in the midst of his

* Vol. III. p. 14.

court, spoke harshly to the wife whom he loved, and pronounced their language with a foreign accent. It was fortunate, therefore, that Mary was personally popular, and that almost everything that was known of her was to her advantage. Her private life was free from reproach. Her devotion to the Church was open and avowed, and was allowed in some degree to balance the Calvinistic opinions of her husband. Unlike him, she was fond of books. Her manners were pleasing and graceful. "Her charities," says Mr. Macaulay, "were munificent and judicious; and, though she made no ostentatious display of them, it was known that she retrenched from her own state in order to relieve Protestants whom persecution had driven from France and Ireland, and who were starving in the garrets of London. So amiable was her conduct that she was generally spoken of with esteem and tenderness by the most respectable of those who disapproved of the manner in which she had been raised to the throne, and even of those who refused to acknowledge her as Queen. In the Jacobite lampoons of that time, lampoons which, in virulence and malignity, far exceed anything that our age has produced, she was not often mentioned with severity."* Yet it must be admitted that William's power was far more firmly established after her death than it was during her life. And however much the security of his throne in the early part of his reign may have been due to her noble and popular qualities, its principal support was undoubtedly in his own strong will and large capacity for government.

Three months elapsed between the proclamation of William and Mary and their coronation. This period was chiefly occupied in filling up the different offices in the state, and in the discussion of questions relating to the Church. In the first, much difficulty was experienced; for the harvest of iniquity which had been so plentifully sown in the reign of Charles the Second had now fully ripened. "From the time of the Restoration to the time of the Revolution," as Mr. Macaulay remarks, "neglect and fraud had been almost constantly impairing the efficiency of every department of the

* Vol. III. p. 53.

government. Honors and public trusts, peerages, baronetcies, regiments, frigates, embassies, governments, commissionerships, leases of crown lands, contracts for clothing, for provisions, for ammunition, pardons for murder, for robbery, for arson, were sold at Whitehall scarcely less openly than asparagus at Covent Garden, or herrings at Billingsgate.* Statesmen who had been trained in such a school were not likely to become suddenly honest; yet it was necessary to adopt such men, or else to take up men who had had no official experience, and who were entirely unaccustomed to the transaction of public business. It was the peculiar misfortune of William, in this state of affairs, to be surrounded by statesmen who were lamentably devoid of good faith, and who were constantly intriguing with the exiled king. If he had not been the ablest monarch who has ever sat upon the English throne, the Revolution Settlement could never have been maintained through the manifold perils which environed his path,—“against the mighty monarchy of France, against the aboriginal population of Ireland, against the avowed hostility of the nonjurors, against the more dangerous hostility of traitors who were ready to take any oath, and whom no oath could bind.”† We have already spoken of the manner in which the principal offices were filled. Among the minor appointments we may mention that of Arthur Herbert, who had been the bearer of the memorable invitation to William, and who was now made First Commissioner of the Admiralty; of Charles Mordaunt, afterwards so widely famous as the Earl of Peterborough, and Sidney Godolphin, admirably described by Mr. Macaulay, as “taciturn, clear-minded, laborious, inoffensive, zealous for no government, and useful to every government,”‡ who sat together at the Treasury Board; and of Devonshire as Lord Steward, and Dorset as Lord Chamberlain, both judicious appointments. Sir John Holt was made Chief Justice of the King’s Bench; and Somers was appointed Solicitor-General. From this position he soon rose to be Keeper of the Great Seal.

Nottingham had brought into the Lords, very soon after tranquillity was restored, two bills designed to settle

* Vol. III. p. 61.

† Vol. IV. p. 808.

‡ Vol. III. p. 21.

the religious troubles of the nation. One of these, the Toleration Act, passed with little opposition, and has proved one of the chief supports of religious liberty in England. Mr. Macaulay has devoted several important and weighty paragraphs to a discussion of the character of this celebrated act, and of the principles embodied in it. But we need not follow him farther than to say that the act is in many respects open to grave criticism, though its effects have been in the highest degree beneficial. Many of its provisions are indefensible, and toleration is the exception rather than the rule in its whole construction. "Of all the acts that have ever been passed by Parliament," says Mr. Macaulay, after enumerating its provisions, "the Toleration Act is perhaps that which most strikingly illustrates the peculiar vices and the peculiar excellences of English legislation."* The other bill, known as the Comprehension Bill, was designed to prepare the way for such alterations in the liturgy and canons of the Established Church as would induce a considerable number of the Dissenters to reunite themselves with it. But the time for such a reunion had long since passed. The bill met with so much opposition from both Churchmen and non-conformists that it was allowed to drop. And though the Convocation was subsequently summoned for the further consideration of the subject, nothing was accomplished.

Whilst these events were transpiring in England, Ireland was the theatre of a fierce warfare between the Irishry and the English of the pale. The aboriginal Irish were then, as they have ever since continued to be, an ignorant and degraded people. Like every ignorant and degraded people when oppressed by unjust and tyrannical laws, and made to feel their own degradation, they hated their English masters with a blind and inconsiderate malice, which confounded all moral distinctions and largely contributed to bring ruin upon their country. This hatred showed itself under various forms, and needed only the excitement of the Revolution to burst forth in renewed violence. The evils, however, under which Ireland then groaned, and still groans,—the insecurity of life and property, and the general degradation of the

* Vol. III. p. 84.

people produced by superstition and misgovernment,—dated from a period long anterior to the reign of William and Mary. But at this time these evils assumed a new and more fearful importance; and it is in this period that we may trace the most rapid growth of many of those fierce animosities which have ever since made the government of that beautiful but wretched island the chief perplexity of every ministry in England. In his treatment of Irish affairs Mr. Macaulay has shown even more than his accustomed ability. The minuteness of his researches, the clearness of his narrative, and the picturesqueness of his descriptions, leave no point of interest untouched.

The most important event in the early history of the war in Ireland was the siege of Londonderry; and upon this memorable story he has lavished the whole strength of his narrative and descriptive powers. Of the place itself he has given us an interesting description, though it is less carefully elaborated than some of his other sketches. But in his description of that remarkable spirit and unwearied energy by which the town was successfully defended against a large and rapacious host for a hundred and five days, we have one of the most stirring passages in his History. During the siege, the dangers springing from famine and treachery were surmounted by the zeal, the patience, and the firmness of the besieged; and when after much delay the needed help was conveyed to them through many obstacles, the Irish army hastily retreated without accomplishing one of their objects. The citizens had suffered much in the defence of their homes and their religion. But the victory which they gained in the end fully compensated them for the sufferings they had endured, and contributed not a little to the final triumph of William in Ireland. "Five generations," says Mr. Macaulay, "have since passed away; and still the wall of Londonderry is to the Protestants of Ulster what the trophy of Marathon was to the Athenians." A lofty column surmounted by a statue of Walker, its most energetic and trusty defender, was erected upon one of the principal bastions, and may still be seen by the traveller for a considerable distance along the river. "The wall," Mr. Macaulay adds, "is carefully preserved; nor would any plea of health or

convenience be held by the inhabitants sufficient to justify the demolition of that sacred enclosure which, in the evil time, gave shelter to their race and their religion."* On the same afternoon that succor finally reached the almost disheartened people of Londonderry, another body of James's Irish adherents was totally defeated at Newton Butler. While these victories greatly raised the hopes of the supporters of William, they equally depressed the hopes of James, who had landed in Ireland some months before, and who, it is said, now thought of retiring to France a second time, in consequence of these reverses.

He had been present with the army before Londonderry during the early part of the siege; but finding that the attack was not likely to be attended with immediate success, he had withdrawn to Dublin and summoned a Parliament. When this body met, it was found that, although there were about a hundred temporal peers in Ireland, only fourteen had obeyed his summons, and of these, ten were Catholics. The House of Commons consisted of two hundred and fifty members, and of these only six were Protestants. "The list of the names," says Mr. Macaulay, "sufficiently indicates the religious and political temper of the assembly. Alone among the Irish Parliaments of that age, this Parliament was filled with Dermots and Geohagans, O'Neils and O'Donovans, Macmahons, Macnamaras, and Macgillcuddies."† Their measures were bold, violent, and sweeping. Among the various acts of cruelty and injustice which were passed during their short session, the pre-eminence belongs to the great Act of Attainder, the most sweeping and malignant statute ever passed in any Christian land by any legislative body. In this act were included the names of more than two thousand persons, who were subjected to its fierce penalties without trial or examination. At the head of the list "was half the peerage of Ireland. Then came baronets, knights, clergymen, squires, merchants, yeomen, artisans, women, children. No investigation was made. Any member who wished to rid himself of a creditor, a rival, a private enemy, gave in the name to the clerk at

* Vol. III. p. 339.

† Vol. III. p. 203.

the table, and it was generally inserted without discussion."* Such was the temper of James's Irish supporters. Such was one of the measures to which he gave his consent. And such was the tyranny from which William delivered England.

It was not only in Ireland, however, that scenes of cruelty and bloodshed were destined to mark the inauguration of the new era. Scotland was also the scene of war. The first of the chapters which Mr. Macaulay devotes to Scottish affairs, is perhaps the ablest and most attractive in these volumes, though all his chapters upon this subject are thorough and masterly in their treatment. His account of the intrigues and discussions in the Convention at Edinburgh is lucid and minute; but we cannot attempt to follow him through these details. The account of the rivalries among the Highland chieftains, and of the characteristics of that people around whom poetry and romance have thrown so false a light, cannot, however, be passed unnoticed. It is upon the whole one of the most striking parts of his work, and is undoubtedly one of those parts which will be most severely attacked. The picture which Mr. Macaulay gives of the Highlanders is, indeed, sharply drawn and darkly colored; but there is no sufficient reason for questioning its entire accuracy. The genius of Walter Scott found, and the partisanship of many other writers who resemble him only in their prejudices still finds, congenial employment in drawing fanciful sketches of the loyalty and the high sense of honor among the Highland chiefs and their clans. But the unwearied researches of Mr. Macaulay have overturned many fine theories, and set many facts in a new light. Even the devotion of the Highlanders to the exiled family is traced to interested motives, and much of it is shown to have sprung from hatred to the great house of Argyle. "Of all the Highland princes," says Mr. Macaulay, "whose history is well known to us, he was the greatest and most dreaded. It was while his neighbors were watching the increase of his power with hatred which fear could scarcely keep down, that Montrose called them to arms. The call was promptly obeyed. A powerful coalition of clans waged war, nom-

inally for King Charles, but really against MacCallum More. It is not easy for any person who has studied the history of that contest to doubt that, if Argyle had supported the cause of monarchy, his neighbors would have declared against it. Grave writers tell of the victory gained at Inverlochy by the royalists over the rebels. But the peasants who dwell near the spot speak more accurately. They talk of the great battle won there by the Macdonalds over the Campbells.* This view is the key which unlocks Mr. Macaulay's whole treatment of this subject, and is unfolded and enforced with consummate ability.

His sketch of the social condition of the Highlands at this time, as we have already intimated, is singularly felicitous, and strongly tends to confirm this view of the secret of the support so often given by the Highlanders to the cause of the Stuarts. In an animated description of what would have been noticed by any sagacious and candid observer who should then have studied the Highland character, he remarks that such an observer "would have found that the people had no love for their country or for their king; that they had no attachment to any commonwealth larger than the clan, or to any magistrate superior to the chief."† Their code of morals and honor was such as is usually found among barbarous tribes. They did not consider it disgraceful to stab a man in the back, or to shoot him from behind a rock. The women gathered the harvest, whilst the men fished, hunted, or plundered some neighboring clan. Their religion was a corrupt form of Romanism, and they believed in the grossest superstitions. For literature they cared nothing; and books were extremely scarce, but not equally valuable. Their lodgings were mean and miserable; and their food was of the most wretched kind. They had some good qualities, however; and not the least of these was their devotion to the head of their clan, though it was a devotion which often entailed misery upon their country. Under the inspiration of this sentiment they now rushed into a new war, to which circumstances minutely detailed by Mr. Macaulay gave a character affecting the stability of William's power.

* Vol. III. p. 317.

† Vol. III. p. 304.

With the triumph of the Revolution the Campbells had recovered their former importance and their influence with the government. The son of that Marquis of Argyll whose head had been fixed on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, was now in a position to claim satisfaction for the injuries inflicted upon his clan. When the news of his return from exile reached the Highlands, it naturally created much uneasiness among his enemies. A gathering of the hostile clans was the immediate consequence; and a messenger was at once despatched to James, who was then in Dublin, to secure his co-operation by fair promises of exertions in his cause. After some delay the command of this irregular and undisciplined force was assumed by John Graham, Viscount Dundee, a brave, skilful, and merciless soldier, whose name is familiar to every student of Scotch history. By his exertions something like order and harmony was infused into the Highland army; and under his command a signal victory was gained by them over the government troops commanded by General Mackay, in the pass of Killiecrankie. Dundee was shot in the commencement of the battle; but his death did not damp the ardor of the Highlanders. The rout was thorough and entire, and only a remnant of the defeated army remained undispersed; but victory in those days was scarcely less fatal to a Highland army than defeat, and soon the victorious clans severally withdrew to their mountain fastnesses. The battle of Killiecrankie was fought in the same week as the battle of Newton Butler, and served in some degree to revive the hopes of the Jacobites, so seriously affected by the unfavorable turn of affairs in Ireland. But, as Mr. Macaulay well observes, its importance was greatly over-estimated by both parties; and after a few unimportant skirmishes the pacification of Scotland was easily effected.

Just before the war in Scotland was terminated by the total defeat of the Highlanders at Dunkeld four weeks after the battle of Killiecrankie, the Convention Parliament adjourned. Their session had been long and exciting; but the amount of business transacted had not been proportionally great. "The last three months of the session," says Mr. Macaulay, "had been almost entirely wasted in disputes, which have left no trace in the

statute-book.”* Among the most noticeable of their acts which did not directly affect the future policy of the government were the reversal of the attainder of Lord Russell, one of the most unjust of the many unjust acts of James's government; the passage of three bills annulling the judgments against Algernon Sidney, Henry Cornish, and Alice Lisle; an animated dispute about the case of the infamous Titus Oates; disputes about the succession to the crown and the Bill of Indemnity; and attacks upon Danby, now become Marquis of Caermarthen, and upon Halifax, whose moderate views made him obnoxious to both parties. Preparations were also made for a vigorous campaign in Ireland; and the command of the army was intrusted to the Duke of Schomberg, one of the greatest soldiers of his age and a well-tried friend of William. He had landed with the Deliverer at Torbay, and the House of Commons had voted him a munificent present to compensate him for his services and for the losses which he had sustained. Before leaving for Ireland he visited the House of Commons, in July, 1689, for the purpose of expressing his gratitude for this gift. Exactly a hundred and twenty-five years later, in July, 1814, the Duke of Wellington appeared in the same place to acknowledge a similar gift; and it is a noticeable fact, that in both cases the ceremonies were precisely the same. “Few things,” as Mr. Macaulay happily remarks, “illustrate more strikingly the peculiar character of the English government and people than the circumstance that the House of Commons, a popular assembly, should, even in a moment of joyous enthusiasm, have adhered to ancient forms with the punctilious accuracy of a college of heralds; that the sitting and rising, the covering and the uncovering, should have been regulated by exactly the same etiquette in the nineteenth century as in the seventeenth; and that the same mace which had been held at the right hand of Schomberg should have been held in the same position at the right hand of Wellington.”† The difficulties against which he had to contend in Ireland, however, owing to the wretched constitution of his army, its want of discipline, and its poor equipment, proved far greater than had been anticipated.

* Vol. III. p. 379.

† Vol. III. p. 414.

Comparatively little had been gained for the cause of William when winter set in after the army had been miserably shattered by pestilence; and the year closed with the Jacobites still triumphant. It was reserved for William himself to extinguish the hopes of his enemies by the battle of the Boyne in the following year.

Parliament met again on the 19th of October, and with a much stronger feeling of animosity against the Tories, who were now in a decided minority, than had been exhibited in the previous session. Many of the measures adopted, however, were wise and patriotic. The Commons resolved unanimously to support the king in the attempt to reconquer Ireland and to wage a vigorous war against France. They also speedily passed the Bill of Rights, which was little more than a formal enactment of the propositions contained in the Declaration of Rights, with some necessary additions, though it had given rise in the last session to disputes between the two houses. They also investigated the abuses in the navy and the conduct of the war in Ireland. But some of their other measures were characterized by the utmost blindness and violence of faction. The Earls of Peterborough and Salisbury, who had become disgracefully famous in the late reign, were sent to the Tower; and several other persons of lesser note were also sent to prison. A committee, commonly called the Murder Committee, was also appointed, to inquire who were answerable for the deaths of Russell and Sidney and others who had suffered for political offences under James, and conducted their investigations with much needless severity. Nor was this all. A bill had been very properly brought in for restoring the rights of those corporations whose charters had been surrendered in the time of the late king. To this bill amendments were moved by two zealous Whigs, William Sacheverel and Sir Robert Howard, for the purpose of disqualifying and punishing the functionaries by whom these charters had been surrendered; and immediately a fierce controversy sprung up which seemed likely to terminate in favor of the extreme Whigs, since many of the Tory members had gone into the country to spend the Christmas holidays. As the news spread that the question was to be decided at once, Mr. Macaulay tells us that "the whole kingdom was moved, from

Northumberland to Cornwall. A hundred knights and squires left their halls hung with mistletoe and holly, and their boards groaning with brawn and plum-porridge, and rode up post to town, cursing the short days, the cold weather, the miry roads, and the villanous Whigs."* The result was the defeat of the extreme Whigs. So rancorous, however, had these party quarrels now become, that William for a time meditated resigning the government of these factious subjects to Mary, whose English birth, education, and habits might invite from them a more hearty obedience to her government, whilst he withdrew to his native country. Fortunately for England, he was dissuaded from taking this step. He then determined to dissolve the existing Parliament, take the sense of the country by a general election, and place himself at the head of the army in Ireland. Thus ended the first year of the reign of William and Mary. England was torn by contending factions; Ireland was in open rebellion; Scotland had also been the theatre of civil war only a few months before, and was just beginning to be reconciled to the new order of things.

The elections, upon the whole, resulted favorably to the Tories, who secured a small majority in the House of Commons; but most of the leading Whigs, with the exception of Hampden, obtained seats. To the existence at this time of a Parliament not very friendly to the principles of the Revolution, or to the king personally, must be ascribed the development and rapid growth of Parliamentary corruption, that terrible evil which, it must, however, be admitted, saved England. To this subject Mr. Macaulay has devoted several of his most powerful and weighty paragraphs, full of striking facts and sound reasoning. In speaking of the appointment of Sir John Lowther as First Lord of the Treasury through the influence of Caermarthen, who had now become the chief minister, and of his personal defects, he adds: "There was also something to be done which he was too scrupulous to do; something which had never been done by Wolsey or Burleigh; something which has never been done by any English statesman of our generation; but which, from the time of Charles the

* Vol. III. p. 520.

Second to the time of George the Third, was one of the most important parts of the business of a minister."* When the monarch could punish any interference with the administration by sending obnoxious members to the Tower, the fear of such punishment was pretty certain to secure their good behavior. But with the growing strength and importance of Parliament, this could no longer be done with impunity; and some other means must be found to secure the silence or the support of ambitious and unscrupulous politicians. This was found in the direct purchase of votes. The expedient answered well; and the practice grew to such an alarming height, that "it at length became as notorious that there was a market for votes at the Treasury, as that there was a market for cattle in Smithfield."† Nor did the evil cease until the publication of the debates and the lists of divisions in Parliament had introduced a new element, by rendering the members in some degree responsible to their constituents. William was naturally averse to the use of such a despicable expedient; but at length the pressure of circumstances overcame his scruples, and he consented that it should be tried. "Nobody," he said to Burnet, "hates bribery more than I. But I have to do with a set of men who must be managed in this vile way or not at all. I must strain a point, or the country is lost."‡

The first session of this Parliament was a short and not very important one. Upon its termination William carried into execution his purpose of attempting in person the conquest of Ireland, leaving Mary in charge of the government in England. In the middle of June he landed at Carrickfergus, a small town in the north part of Ireland, and immediately commenced preparations for a vigorous campaign. Ten days after landing, he began his march southward, and soon came up with the army of James, who had retreated as he advanced until they had finally established themselves on the southern bank of the river Boyne. William determined, against the advice of some of his generals, to cross the river and attack the Irish. On the 1st of July was fought that famous battle which crushed the hopes of James and pre-

* Vol. III. p. 541.

† Ibid., p. 546.

‡ Ibid., p. 547.

pared the way for the complete subjugation of the island. Mr. Macaulay tells us in his best manner how the victory was won through the bravery and discretion of William, the shameful flight of James, and the not less shameful cowardice of his soldiers, many of whom ran away almost without striking a blow. But we need not pause to narrate a story familiar to every student of English and Irish history. The first fruit of this victory was the capture of Drogheda, which surrendered the following day; and then, pressing forward, the victorious monarch entered Dublin in triumph four days after James had quitted it to seek safety in France. Here William remained but a few days before advancing against Limerick, where the defeated army had sought refuge. Upon his approach the French general then in Ireland, the Count of Lauzun, pronounced the place untenable, and withdrew with his troops to Galway. The city, however, did not surrender, and was skilfully defended by the Irish alone, under the command of Colonel Patrick Sarsfield, one of the most distinguished Irishmen of that age. The siege was prosecuted with much vigor; but the loss of his heavy artillery and the near approach of the autumnal rains compelled William to raise the siege and return to England, leaving for a second campaign the final accomplishment of the work so successfully commenced.

In the mean time England had been alarmed by the fear of an invasion, — that fear which more than any other fear alarms Englishmen. A naval battle had taken place on the 30th of June between the French fleet under Tourville, and the English and Dutch fleets under Arthur Herbert, now known as the Earl of Torrington. The latter had sustained an inglorious defeat, and had been compelled to take refuge in the Thames. Tourville was left master of the Channel; and the fear of an invasion rapidly spread through the country. "The French would conquer us"; so the English reasoned. "The French would enslave us; the French would inflict on us calamities such as those which had turned the fair fields and cities of the Palatinate into a desert. The hop-grounds of Kent would be as the vineyards of the Neckar. The High Street of Oxford and the Close of Salisbury would be piled with ruins such as those which covered the spots where the palaces and churches of

Heidelberg and Manheim had once stood. The parsonage overshadowed by the old steeple, the farm-house peeping from among beehives and apple-blossoms, the manorial hall embosomed in elms, would be given up to a soldiery which knew not what it was to pity old men or delicate women or sucking children."* The alarm quickly excited all classes; everywhere knights, squires, and tenants gathered to defend their homes and their churches. On the 22d of July the French fleet anchored in the harbor of Torbay. The watch-fires were immediately kindled on every height; all night, messengers rode hard to alarm the country; and in twenty-four hours thousands of soldiers and volunteers had gathered to the spot where it was supposed the landing would take place. But Tourville contented himself with burning Teignmouth, a little village of about forty cottages, and soon after set sail. The danger vanished with his departure; but the alarm had strengthened the government.

The third volume of Mr. Macaulay's *History* extends over two years; his fourth volume extends over seven years. And this difference in the scale on which each volume is composed very accurately indicates the relative importance of each period. Yet these years were marked by many important events, and by many of those social and political changes which have made England what she now is. But we can only indicate in the briefest manner a few of these events and changes, and the way in which they are treated by Mr. Macaulay. About the middle of January, 1691, William visited Holland, where he was received with every demonstration of joy by those who had so long known and loved him; and whilst there he attended a Congress at the Hague, assembled for the purpose of making arrangements for a more vigorous campaign against France. Of William's enthusiastic reception in Holland, of the great European coalition of which he was now the acknowledged head and principal support, of the numerous difficulties against which he had to contend in sustaining the zeal and harmony of its members, and of the military operations upon the Continent, both in this year

* Vol. III. p. 611.

and in subsequent years, Mr. Macaulay has given us an animated account, which leaves nothing to be desired, either in brilliancy of treatment or accuracy of detail.

Just after the return of William to England, the death of George Fox, the founder of the sect of Quakers, occurred; and this event, which would have been entirely neglected by most historians, affords Mr. Macaulay an opportunity for presenting a minute delineation of his character, and an interesting sketch of his doctrines. Every reader of Mr. Macaulay's earlier volumes will remember the portrait which he then drew of William Penn; and in the volumes now before us he has added some traits to strengthen and confirm the original sketch. But the likeness of Fox is drawn in still darker colors, and will be even more likely to excite the indignation of Quaker critics. In the following October, Limerick, the last strong-hold of the Irish Jacobites, yielded to the victorious arms of General Ginkell; but the garrison were permitted to march out with the honors of war. A considerable portion of them sailed for France, and entered the service of Louis the Fourteenth; some joined the army of Ginkell; and the rest dispersed in various directions. By the fall of Limerick the authority of William was finally established throughout Ireland. "The exiles," Mr. Macaulay tells us in language of admirable clearness and force, "departed to learn in foreign camps that discipline without which natural courage is of small avail, and to retrieve on distant fields of battle the honor which had been lost by a long series of defeats at home. In Ireland there was peace. The domination of the colonists was absolute. The native population was tranquil with the ghastly tranquillity of exhaustion and of despair. There were, indeed, outrages, robberies, fire-raising, assassinations. But more than a century passed away without one general insurrection. During that century, two rebellions were raised in Great Britain by the adherents of the house of Stuart. But neither when the elder Pretender was crowned at Scone, nor when the younger held his court at Holyrood, was the standard of that house set up in Connaught or Munster. In 1745, indeed, when the Highlanders were marching towards London, the Roman Catholics of Ireland were so quiet, that the Lord Lieutenant could, without the smallest

risk, send several regiments across St. George's Channel to recruit the army of the Duke of Cumberland."* Such was the effect of oppression on that degraded and uncultivated people. In the latter part of the same year those animated discussions about the policy of opening or restricting the trade with the East Indies, which had commenced some time previously, were again revived, and continued to be maintained with more or less earnestness for several years.

The commencement of the next year witnessed the fall of Marlborough, an event which previous historians, misled by the abject falsehoods of the spiteful old Duchess, have been unable to explain, but which Mr. Macaulay has fully and satisfactorily elucidated. The delineation of Marlborough which he gives us in these volumes is one of the most elaborate and successful portions of his *History*. To some readers, indeed, the character may seem to be too darkly colored; but no thorough and impartial student of English history will venture to dispute the accuracy of the portrait. Three other events of even greater importance also marked the course of this year,—the infamous massacre of Glencoe, the naval victory of Russell at La Hogue, and the origin of the national debt, the last of which is treated at much length, and in a singularly clear and statesmanlike manner. Though Mr. Macaulay does not attempt to palliate in any degree the infamy of the massacre of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, he labors to transfer almost the whole of his censure from William to the Master of Stair, by whose order this nefarious crime was committed. His views, we think, are in the main sustained by the facts of the case. William is only deserving of censure for intrusting to any one powers that admitted of so large an interpretation, and which were actually interpreted in the largest sense. For this he is deserving of grave censure; and in this respect we are inclined to go farther than Mr. Macaulay. But after all, the iniquity of the transaction was of Dalrymple's own devising.

The only events connected with the history of the next two years to which we can now allude, are the formation of the first ministry in England, according to

* Vol. IV. p. 113.

the present acceptation of the term; the failure of the expedition against Brest, information of which was conveyed to James by a letter from Marlborough, "the basest of all the hundred villanies of Marlborough," says Mr. Macaulay;* the origin of the Bank of England; and the death of Queen Mary. In speaking of the formation of the first ministry, Mr. Macaulay remarks, that "no writer has yet attempted to trace the progress of this institution, an institution indispensable to the harmonious working of our other institutions."† Accordingly, he devotes to this subject several pages of clear and rapid narrative and thoughtful discussion, closing with a not less admirable sketch of Sunderland, and followed by careful portraits of Russell, Somers, Montague, and Wharton, among the Whig leaders, and of Harley, Foley, and Jack Howe among the Tories. It was not many weeks after William had called Sunderland to office, when he was almost unnerved by the sudden death of Mary, whom he had loved with all the depth and fervor of affection of which his nature was capable. Of her death Mr. Macaulay has given us a beautiful and touching account, which we would especially commend to every one who has hitherto been inclined to form an unfavorable opinion of William's character as a man. During her sickness he scarcely left her bedside, and when he slept it was upon a little camp bedstead in the anteroom. As her last hour approached, she dismissed worldly cares from her mind and prepared for the final change. "After she had received the sacrament," says the historian, "she sank rapidly, and uttered only a few broken words. Twice she tried to take a last farewell of him whom she had loved so truly and entirely; but she was unable to speak. He had a succession of fits so alarming, that his Privy Councillors, who were assembled in a neighboring room, were apprehensive for his reason and his life. The Duke of Leeds, at the request of his colleagues, ventured to assume the friendly guardianship of which minds deranged by sorrow stand in need. A few minutes before the Queen expired, William was removed, almost insensible, from the sick-room."‡

The years 1695 and 1696 were marked by events of

* Vol. IV. p. 512.

† Ibid., p. 437.

‡ Ibid., p. 532.

scarcely less importance. On the Continent the allies gained some advantages over the French, which prepared the way for the peace of Ryswick in 1697. From the same period dates the release of the press from the restrictions which had previously fettered the free expression of opinions. Upon his narrative of the events and circumstances that led to this important reform, Mr. Macaulay has evidently bestowed the utmost attention, and the whole account has an unusual freshness and interest. As an evidence of the thoroughness of his investigations, we may mention that, in speaking of the unique collection of newspapers of the reign of William in the British Museum, he tells us he has turned over every page of the collection.* During this period the Jacobites were constantly plotting for the overthrow of the government or the assassination of William; but all these plots were fortunately detected, and their movers were punished. In one case, however, recourse was had to a dangerous exercise of authority, though it must be admitted that the culprit richly merited a punishment that could not be inflicted in the ordinary course of justice. We refer to the memorable case of Sir John Fenwick, all the circumstances of which are narrated and discussed by Mr. Macaulay with a particularity commensurate with their importance. Whilst England was agitated by these often-recurring plots, she was also passing through a terrible financial crisis, which for a time threatened the destruction of the country, and was only surmounted by the boldness and firmness of the government, and the momentary popularity of William, occasioned by the alarm and indignation of Parliament and the people at the repeated plots of the Jacobites.

But over all these domestic difficulties and dangers the genius of the great Deliverer triumphed. Nor was he less successful in his foreign policy. The coalition which he had upheld against a thousand perils had at length so far triumphed, that France expressed a willingness to treat for peace and to acknowledge him as King of Great Britain and Ireland. After numerous and vexatious delays, three treaties of peace were signed at Ryswick, in September, 1697. William had conquered a

* Vol. IV. p. 604, note.

peace both at home and abroad; and was now the acknowledged sovereign of the great and long oppressed people to whom he had brought the incalculable blessings of civil and religious freedom. Throughout England the rejoicings were hearty and long continued. Nor was it without reason that men rejoiced when they considered how great was the work that had been accomplished. "There was peace abroad and at home," says Mr. Macaulay. "The kingdom, after many years of ignominious vassalage, had resumed its ancient place in the first rank of European powers. Many signs justified the hope that the Revolution of 1688 would be our last revolution. The ancient constitution was adapting itself, by a natural, a gradual, a peaceful development, to the wants of a modern society. Already freedom of conscience and freedom of discussion existed to an extent unknown in any preceding age. The currency had been restored. Public credit had been re-established. Trade had revived. The exchequer was overflowing. There was a sense of relief everywhere, from the Royal Exchange to the most secluded hamlets among the mountains of Wales and the fens of Lincolnshire. The ploughmen, the shepherds, the miners of the Northumbrian coal-pits, the artisans who toiled at the looms of Norwich and the anvils of Birmingham, felt the change without understanding it; and the cheerful bustle in every seaport and every market town indicated, not obscurely, the commencement of a happier age."* Yet there were many dangers to be encountered before the last of the Stuart Pretenders should relinquish all hope of recovering the throne which his ancestors had so justly forfeited. For the future volumes of Mr. Macaulay's History we shall look with the deepest interest. In them we shall read that story traced with a skill never yet rivalled by any English historian.

C. C. S.

* Vol. IV. pp. 808, 809.

ART. V.—THE CHURCH AS A SOCIAL POWER.*

WE select the brief essay of Mr. Newman named below as the starting-place of our remarks, not because it corresponds nearest with our own thought, but because it is one symptom among many of the want to which we especially desire to draw attention. It states with great freedom and plainness, in its very title, what is the element of human life which the Church of the present day most needs to embody and adopt. And we care not at present so much to criticise what seem to us the errors of its theory, or the deficiency of its range, as to greet and honor, from whatever source, counsels given with so clear a purpose and so evident sincerity. The position in which the writer stands towards the religious public, and the defect of sympathy which so often warps his judgment of men and institutions, do not blind us to the admirable ethical character of his essay, or the reality of the want he has here expressed.

To speak indeed of a "Church" wholly aside from the community known as Christian,—nay, not so much as claiming to bear the name, or even engaging in a common worship,—will seem to many a mere contradiction of terms. The experiment, or the project of a *permanent* organization, for the highest of social ends, on the basis, not of spiritual sympathies and beliefs, but of reformatory work, is, if not quite novel, at least so wholly beside the range and the tests of ordinary experience, that there is no very obvious handle to a critique of its practicability; and at present we can only extend to it the equivocal and uncertain sympathy with which we greet any honest endeavor to meet any real want. If the basis of theological union is stricken from under men's feet, if the faith of the future is still too undeveloped to serve as a rallying-place, it is indeed a difficult and painful problem to devise the transitionary platform on which the chaos of cravings, creeds, and characters may be reconciled. That honest and cultivated intelligence, or that earnest and enlightened morality, which is outlawed by the for-

* *Catholic Union: Essays towards a Church of the Future, as the Organization of Philanthropy.* By F. W. NEWMAN. London: Chapman. 1854. pp. 113.

mularies of old establishments, or affronted by bigotry, indolence, and avarice, shielding themselves by the name of Christ,—where shall it find its place of rest? or, which is even a more earnest matter, where shall it find its sphere of labor?

Without discussing the answers given to this question in the several forms of “church-extension” and home missions,—so noble a feature of the religious life of England now,—we will consider for a moment that which lies before us in the present treatise.

It is drawn up under the following titles, which sufficiently indicate the course of argument: Idea of Catholicity; Property and Communism; Organized Institutions; Retrospect of the Catholic Church; Present State of Protestantism; Problem of Reconstruction; Doctrines of the Future Church; Work of the Future Church; Reform of the Sunday. It assumes, as “the winning principle of the age,” that *the Moral is higher than the Ecclesiastical*, and proceeds to define very briefly and clearly the separate functions of the Church and State, “on whose healthy antagonism all the progress of Modern Europe has depended.”

A considerable space is occupied by practical hints as to organizing and conducting the Associations which are to herald the coming synthesis of philanthropical reforms. From these we should infer that the author looks with more hope to the “secularist” movement, than our slight personal acquaintance with it would lead us to justify. We know, indeed, in other ways, that the heresies and crudities of social ethics mixed up in that movement have given him anxious concern; and that it is now (or was lately) a special task with him to combat them in its leading journal. The degree of sympathy and respect won towards that movement by the character of one or two leaders in it is hardly borne out, we fear, by anything decisive or very promising in the position of the party as such. And we reluctantly infer that Mr. Newman has overrated the degree of mental preparation for an organic change of the nature he suggests, among the class for whom (apparently) he writes,—the intelligent working-class of England.

In answer to the question, What is to be the fundamental ground of union? (since the conditions of member-

ship and exclusion must be somewhat strictly drawn,) he urges that "a moral test-creed will be as hurtful and absurd as a theological one"; and adds, that "it is not the profession of a *theory* that we must seek and accept, but the profession of a *practical intention*," — a test which, by the experience of our friends the Reformers, seems quite as fatal to a lasting fellowship, as that of common belief or worship, which he reluctantly disclaims.

Under the caption, "Reform of the Sunday," among many other suggestions to which we heartily assent, he argues at some length against the payment of religious teachers. "Philanthropic exertion," he says, "is an honorable service, which we must earn a right to undertake, by first feeding ourselves and those depending on us." (p. 110.) His general reasons — such as the offering of bribes to a mercenary temper, and so hurting the quality of a sincere service, and the wasting the forces of a Church among a crowd of petty sects kept apart by interested leaders — are what every thoughtful and conscientious man exposed to that temptation will feel at times painfully for himself. We need not repeat here the exhortations of St. Paul, or the protest of the Quakers against a "hireling clergy." No person of scrupulous moral feeling can quite disown some shade or echo of this reproach. Its only answer is to be found in the simple fact, that an institution whose efficacy depends on its permanency cannot as yet afford to lose the stability and strength given to it by a trained and cultivated class, identified with its prosperity and pledged to its support, and by the powerful class-sympathy existing among them. So that the question at bottom is, Shall the institution, as such, be sustained at all?

Our slight and imperfect notice we close by quoting the following paragraph: —

"To sum up: the popular creed presents to us an unholy Earth, an incorrigible World, an absent and offended God, an external mode of Reconciliation to Him, a distant and future sphere of Affection, and the evidence of Hearsay concerning all. In place of these, the new religion will teach a venerable Earth, an improvable World, a present and unchangeably benevolent God, inward Reconciliation of the human heart to Him, a present sphere of Affection and Exertion, and the evidence of personal insight." — p. 84.

We do not consider that we have given undue prominence to an essay which sets before us the highest form of moral and spiritual truth recognized by that large, intelligent, and (shall we say) increasing body of Englishmen, who find themselves sundered from all church relation, and out of the pale of recognized Christian fellowship. The existence of such a class, not in England only, but in every Protestant community, is what no one can overlook. The transparent fiction which disguises it in Roman Catholic countries cannot conceal from us the fact, that, throughout Western Christendom, enormous multitudes are practically "unchurched." Very many of them drift vaguely through the various zones of scepticism and unbelief. For very many more, the best that we could hope as yet would be a seeking in earnest, "if haply they might feel after and find" a soul-satisfying faith. And nothing in the range of religious discussion is of more surpassing interest, than the relation of Christian truth to that class which this essay attempts to meet.

In the "subdichotomies of petty schisms," or else in the "surplice-brabbles and tippet-scuffles," of which Milton speaks as afflicting the Reformed Church of his own day, is it not possible that our generation also has lost sight of what touches its life more deeply? We allude not only to the fact that the visible Church of Christ so hopelessly fails of the unity and strength which seem implied in its claim of a divine commission; but to the yet more alarming fact, that a "spiritual power" in its largest sense, proportioned to the secular energies of the age, is scarce even thought of or wished for. Now, in theory, the Church is such a power. It proposes to embody and organize the highest moral conviction to which the soul of man has attained; nay, a faith which is the direct gift of God himself. And nothing so proves it untrue to its commission and its idea, as these vast provinces of moral and mental life, which it makes no pretence whatever of reclaiming. We have even forgotten, most of us, that the Church was ever designed to be such a power as that of which we speak. And if the Church has abdicated its high office, where shall we look to find a successor or a substitute?

We shall hope to make clear the point of this inquiry

before we have done. Meanwhile, need we urge its great practical importance? Is not the need confessed in the very existence of an institution which claims to represent the Divine purpose as bearing on human things? Has it not necessarily a relation to the moral wants and welfare of society, and social progress generally, as well as to the instruction and ennobling of the individual life? Is not its actual inefficiency seen in that democratic Erastianism of ours, by which the state usurps the supremacy over conscience, and man's law claims to be more sacred than God's? in the lamentable controversies which distract the moral forces of Christendom? in the existence of frightful social evils, which the State makes scarce an effort to remove, and to which the Church scarce ventures to allude? in the anarchy that prevails as to the first principles of Christian ethics? in the absence of any great common interest or faith pervading the forms of our social life? Sectarian efforts, doubtless, do something to supply the want on a limited scale; but on a large scale, the mental and moral energies of the age waste themselves in mutual collision and strife, instead of working, intelligently and powerfully, to a common end. There is still lacking an intelligent, thorough, and commanding organization of the profoundest moral conviction of men, such as may correspond with our completest notion of the Church of Christ, with forces proportioned to its work.

Now the phrase "spiritual power" (the nearest equivalent to the word Church, taken in its broadest sense) includes something more than worship and culture on the one hand, and something more than a mere "organization of philanthropy," on the other. It includes not only the well understood charge of religious or theological culture, and moral discipline; but also the whole field of education, and the advance of truth generally, ethical, religious, scientific, and social, — in a word, all the intellectual, moral, and religious interests of human society. It includes not only the nurture of kind affections, and the administering of charities in detail, but the apprehension of social laws, and the duties growing out of the largest and most general relations in which men are bound together. While it deals directly with men's motives, beliefs, principles, and moral discipline, — only in-

directly with those external facts and institutions which make the domain of the temporal power, or the State,—its sphere is yet coextensive with human life itself. Less than this, we conceive, is never claimed for “the Church” in the Christian Scripture, or can be admitted for it by any consistent advocate of its authority. Less than this surely cannot be implied in the equivalent phrase, “kingdom of God.”

But here our definition takes us so far beyond the range of the customary application of the word, that we must stay to consider a little further. Fortunately, we are met by an historical precedent; and one so far out of the reach of any controversy touching ourselves, that we can afford to give it its due weight. The Latin or “Catholic” Church of Western Europe did propose to itself the several objects we have already enumerated. It did include them in the theory of its organization. And, in a way however abhorrent to our present notion, it was for a course of centuries by far the completest type of “spiritual power” that the world has yet seen. And so a few words touching the nature and source of the authority of that Church will help us in tracing the conditions of the spiritual power we seek to embody in our own.

But, first, an illustration may be pardoned, showing how much more intimately its presence and power must have been felt in the ordinary affairs of life, than we can easily conceive where all our traditions are purely Protestant and republican.

It was towards the brilliant sunset of a June day that we passed from the old papal palace at Avignon,—its sights and memories of spiritual tyranny still fresh upon us,—and mounted the long flight of stairs at the cathedral front. Solemnly swelled the tones of the vesper chant from the deep gloom within, mingling with the peal of the city-bell from the street below. As we set foot upon the threshold, the thunder of cannon came echoing from afar, the signal of some high church-festival on the morrow; and then we stood in the gathering obscurity of that ancient pile, while the chant swelled more and more loudly, with the sound of trumpet and the pealing organ, and from above the great cathedral bell let fall as it were a cloud of deep sound that stole

softly upon the sense as the cloud of incense spread softly through the air, and still at intervals came the distant thunder of cannon, — till it seemed as if whole centuries had dissolved away, and the ghostly fabric of the Middle Age were brought visibly before us; and for once we felt the terror and the charm with which that mistress of men's souls wove her dark enchantments, — with what mystery and fear her voice must have gone abroad, when there were none as yet who dared to question her authority, when that enchantress-hand wielded the power both to kill and to keep alive! Near high noon, next day, in that sombre city, the same dread pomp of worship was repeated. And now no class, hardly a man, that did not seem to take part in it; not a feature of the city's life seemed to be unrepresented. The long procession, with banners, and priests, and school-boys, and little children, and the tender chant of women, and military music and array, and the provincial costume of men and maidens, and pealing bells, wound through the narrow streets, in honor of the "festival of God." Among many a scene of religious pomp to be witnessed in the picturesque and brilliant South, which is still the peculiar domain of Rome, in none has the sense been more pervaded with the atmosphere of another age, in none has a people's devotion seemed more real, or come with deeper pathos to the heart, than in the shadow of those gray yet terrible monuments of a persecuting Church.

Or take this other example. It is in the city of Bologna, at night. The kneeling and silent worshippers in several of the churches have borne witness to a season of more than common solemnity. In the great market-square a canopy is erected, having a picture or image of the Virgin suspended in it, and candles lighted as for some night-service. That it is an act of peculiar homage to the mother of the Lord is easily gathered; but it is with hushed and reluctant voice that one whispers of the *coléra*: it is in dread of the pestilence prevailing there that her aid is to be invoked. By degrees the crowd assembled in the square draws nearer to the altar, and the night-service begins. Under the long ranges and arcades, in the open air beneath the starlit sky, in narrow streets and porches that look towards the newly

erected shrine, on the steps of churches and public halls, stand the gathering multitude. First, with music of brazen instruments, sounds the loud chant from a company of priests; then a single voice, clear and powerful, pours forth the strains of supplication, flowing all over that ample space; and then, with the deep monotone of one loud instrument, ascends the response from that great multitude, the voice of thousands saying as the voice of one man, "Before thine image we bow down, humble and devout, Most Holy Virgin, and, united here in spirit, direct to thee the supplication of our hearts!" What ceremony or form of worship could be more tender, impressive, and sublime than this prayer of a great multitude, in that sad city stricken by the pestilence, as its strains rose and swelled under that calm night-sky!

Once more. It is noon among the mountains. The scene is one of those deep and beautiful valleys that guide to the southern passes of the Alps. It is the day of some religious festival, which gathers the simple villagers from their scattered homes; and to strains of unskilful music, and the noise of guns and bells, the scanty procession is seen winding slowly towards the little church. Plain, strong men, roughly clad, boys bred to the serious mountain air, maidens in their simple rustic attire, women whose voice floats tenderly and with a gentle pathos in the sacred song, — and then, borne reverently, a rude painted wooden image of the Holy Mother and her Child, spangled and crowned. This homely symbol of ancestral faith is set up there under the open sky; and gathering silently now the people offer homage, while priests chant the words of prayer. This singular rite of a worship which to us seems clear idolatry, is soon over; the humble retinue resumes its march, and fainter in the distance comes once more the song whose echoes die among the hills.

These are but slight and homely illustrations; yet they serve to hint at the familiar presence, the near and intimate agencies, the consummate art, by which that Church comes home to the hearts of its subjects. And so, even better than what is stately and historic (of which illustrations crowd on us as soon as the page of mediæval story is spread open), they help us to the

starting-place we choose for our argument. However fortified by Protestant prejudice or rationalistic temper, no one of ordinary sympathies can witness such a scene as we have described without confessing the presence of a spiritual power, developed and wielded with a skill, ripened by gray memories and long centuries of experience, such as he may have hardly suspected hitherto. And what, he asks, must have been that ecclesiastical fabric of the Middle Age to those who dwelt in its very shadow, when its tottering and ghostly ruin is a presence so inspiring and august?

It is needless to review the long and often blind and violent struggle by which, in the Western Church, the spiritual power was established in thorough independence of the temporal, or to recount the uses, needs, dangers, and abuses of that power. It is enough to say, what probably no one will deny, that it was the indispensable agent of European civilization, and that the intellectual and social position from which we may view the conditions of progress in our day would be both inconceivable and impossible without that agency. We attend now only to its *previous conditions*. The case which those who founded or developed it had to meet was this: to construct a basis for it wholly independent of any temporal authority whatsoever, and at the same time of a sort that should command the most absolute veneration and obedience of its subjects. That basis consisted (to generalize somewhat loosely) in these three things:—

The absolute divine authority of the religious system itself: this included the true Deity of its Founder, as vindicated in the Arian controversy, the Real Presence, and the Apostolic Succession, by which a sanction wholly superhuman and divine was given to the meanest of the consecrated servants of the Church.

The modified religious fatalism vindicated in the Pelagian controversy: this ensued from the doctrine of the soul's native corruption, and made the office of religion to depend on God's direct and personal agency, which could be secured only through the priests and sacraments of the Church.

The absolute perdition of all without the pale of the Church, and the modified perdition of all unfaithful to

the discipline of the Church, — the twofold terror of the future life, Hell and Purgatory, — which made the pivot of church power, and the impregnable support of ecclesiastical discipline.

Such was the foundation, wholly superhuman and unearthly, of that spiritual power which not only triumphed constantly in actual collision with the state, but which, in clerical hands, became an omnipresent agency of mental education and moral culture, and in general of all that belongs to the domain of the interior and social life. The regulation of marriage, the limiting or forbidding of divorce, the abolition of slavery, the minute discipline of conscience through confession, penance, and absolution, are among the moral efforts and enterprises, of magnitude, difficulty, and importance hardly conceivable to us now, by which the Church contended against social evils inherited from paganism, or chastised the passionate and fierce energies of barbarism.

“It must be admitted,” says Mr. Newman, “that the Church of those days did not take on herself the problem of infusing moral principles into worldly forces, and of thereby regulating their action. She discussed and solved (in her own way) questions which are not even touched in the New Testament; such as the rules of war, and the lawfulness of warfare to a Christian. Whatever the excess of ambition in the ecclesiastics, the Church collectively was not only the greatest moral power, but the most innovating and onward-moving element in society. Even the religious orders of those days were more progressive than conservative; and all the newest moral thought came out of the Church’s own bosom. This was to undertake (however imperfectly she fulfilled) the right function of a Church as distinguished from the State; and perhaps was the deepest fountain of her vast power.” *

Personal heroism in its servants — commemorated in so many legends of the saints — was both created and sustained by a disciplined executive skill worthy of the imperial city that was its citadel and home. Elementary religious and mental culture was expanded under its auspices into the university system of the Middle Ages; and the Church sought to incorporate within itself the

* Essay, page 45.

whole domain of men's intellectual, social, moral, and religious life.

That this attempt completely failed at last was in part owing to the inevitable abuse, but even more to the narrow and arbitrary foundation, of its prodigious power. The dogmatic system which it assumed is already obsolete, or going out of date. The effort of the last three centuries has been wholly to neutralize and discard it. However it may seem in the artificial world of technical theology, as a real agency for the spiritual and social guidance of the race it is wholly valueless; and the question for us now is, not whether we shall go back to it, but where shall we find a substitute.

Such a substitute we shall find in no rival dogma, or metaphysical creed, — where Protestant sects have vainly sought it now these three hundred years; but, if at all, in an assemblage of intellectual and moral conditions as true to the wants and life of our time, as those doubtless were to a previous age.

We must begin, then, by assuming the Church (for the occasion of our present argument at least) to be even less a teacher of truth — since it is not yet agreed upon a consistent and authoritative system of truth — than *a social fact and a social power*. This the Protestant Church among ourselves still is, whatever we may say of the variations of its creed. And, for our immediate purpose, we assume its various organizations as the nucleus, or starting-place, or rudimentary condition, of the larger structure we have in view. It is in this that we chiefly differ with Mr. Newman, according to whose notion the Church seems to us rather a fabrication than a growth, not having its roots sufficiently imbedded in the past; and, especially, to fail in the essential element of authority. But of this farther on. The actually existing church or churches we accept, as embracing and furnishing to our hand precisely the elements of traditionary prestige and strength, and direct access to the springs of action in the individual, which we want first of all. If incompetent hitherto to fulfil its true social function, it is that it has not allied itself with the dominant ideas, and identified itself with the highest life, of the present day.

By the term "Church," (adopting the mystical lan-

guage of the New Testament for our guide,) we understand no visible and outward organization; but rather the "spiritual body" co-ordinate with the exterior and visible body, whether of the parish, the state, or the Christian world,—for more or less vaguely its use is familiar in all these ways. This, rather than any more limited and technical signification, seems to us best to embrace the circle of religious associations that belong to it, and to convey its true import as naturalized in our best literature. It is the embodiment, varying from age to age, of that divine life shed through Christ upon the world. It consists (to attempt a nearer definition) in the aggregate of those *living religious agencies* which we methodize and incorporate in our associated religious life. After the analogy of the physical organism, it has its own laws of growth and decay; it is acted on by vital influences, subject to its own conditions of health, continuance, and change. For its function, it is intrusted with a definite charge in the sacred interests of charity and truth. It may be reflected, or represented, in the humblest organization "where two or three are gathered"; but such, in its true general acceptation, is that "holy Church Universal" which is ever organic and one.

Again, the first office of the Church, as we find it practically, is to bring together in spiritual fellowship, for a religious end, those of every class, occupation, opinion, or outward circumstance. Ideally conceived, it should know no more of sects in theology than of parties in politics.* Its particular service is, to give distinct form and expression to the religious emotions, convictions, and hopes of a Christian community; to train mind and heart in the principles of pure morality, as applied to all the wants, situations, and exposures of common life; to give religious aim, purity of motive, and exalted principle to the young, consolation and support to the feeble, the distressed, the helpless, and the old; to hold as it were the balance, and apply the test of eternal and immutable right to forms of thought diversified and innu-

* In this hint we express not an arbitrary fancy merely, but an actual tendency. The fact is no longer disguised, or deniable, that a very large number of "Orthodox" church-members are Unitarian in belief. Even the Thirty-Nine Articles do not bar the Church of England against the intrusion of the freshest heresies.

merable, that come before the public mind. It does its work, not by dint of theories, or sacraments, or religious exercises merely, but by a combination of living religious agencies, by which it lays hold on the individual conscience, instructs the general reason, and deals with the passion, motive, enterprise, hope or fear, conduct or endeavor, that mark our personal and public life. This is the work which the Church professes to undertake, and which, however imperfectly, it actually to some degree performs.

But, not to confound the whole function of the Church in this its main and primary office of personal spiritual culture, let us look at it also as it bears on the great wants and wrongs of human society. There are charities needing to be wisely administered; there are definite evils, social or "organic" sins, to be overcome. As to each of these, the experience of the past few years may be of great service, as helping us to understand the nature and conditions of the "spiritual power" which we need. The chief danger experience shows us, as some will say, is bigotry or exclusiveness; as others, moral cowardice; or, as we should rather say, a consenting to limit unworthily, through a mistaken policy, or a narrow apprehension, our conception of the Church itself. The danger may be a real one, and may show itself in all these ways; but it is not to be overcome by mutual exhortation or bitterness of reproach. It is all the more real, and perhaps only real, because we are in want of any clearly recognized basis of authority on which it may rest, — an authority as absolute and independent as that of the mediæval Church, but suited to a set of conditions wholly different and new.

The question of authority, therefore, as appealing both to intellect and conscience, is the first which we have to meet, — authority, that is, not as felt and operative in *our* conscience merely, but such as may be recognized and effective in dealing with other men, or with society at large. Truths which no intelligent man can dispute, principles which no honest man can deny, would seem the first condition to make such a power as we speak of possible. And how are these to be had? A genuine spiritual power, to be exercised on any large scale, cannot reside in any mere metaphysical creed of

so-called "abstract truths" and "absolute rights"; still less in a style of theological dogma, which lies at the mercy of a scholastic criticism, and is itself at issue in the controversies of the day. And for anything further or more definite than this, we are still to seek.

Many will content themselves by asserting the divine and ultimate authority of the Christian Gospel, and of the moral principles announced therein, as the statement of moral truth in its highest purity. And, once recognized and accepted by the conscience, this does give us precisely the authority we want, — at least in the sphere of the individual life. But that authority fails us just where our present want is, — in the applying of Gospel principles to social fact. As recognized by ourselves, — that is, by the Protestant world, as distinguished from a Church professing to occupy the entire field of human life, — it rests on the sentiment of personal loyalty, it belongs to the sphere of personal religion; for social ethics, or the religion of humanity, the same truth requires to be stated in another way. See how various is the application, how conflicting the interpretation, of the plainest moral precepts to social wants and wrongs! Slavery, pauperism, intemperance, the discipline of crime, — how perplexed is the whole matter of biblical criticism, no less than social practice, about them all! Given Christian love, as the informing and pervading spirit, we need a new, independent, and larger grasp of truth, in some authoritative form, to aid us in giving shape and coherence to our creed of social ethics; we need a new style of moral discipline to make that creed dominant and effectual.

Our question then recurs. Some will already look on it as a hopeless one. Where, amid the discordance of Christian sects, and the controversies that so rack the political world, and the moral anarchy that so hides and confounds our prospect of the future, may we find a certain basis of Authority? where is the intellectual basis of Truth, impersonal and independent as the doctrinal fabric of Catholicism, but, unlike that, adapted to the intelligence and culture of a scientific age? where the authoritative creed of Morals, that may decide new controversies, and match the vast undisciplined forces of our present civilization? — authority so broad

and clear and firm as to redeem the mind from feebleness and fear; so generous as to win, by pure spiritual persuasion and the omnipotence of truth, the willing reverence of men; so strong as to hold in check an age and a people of passionate and wayward liberty!

The only answer that can be given as yet to such a question is this: that the authority we speak of must grow up slowly, as the mature result of thorough mental and moral discipline. The last word of the scientific mind and social experience of men must be its authentic exposition. The seat of the only authority to which an age like ours can appeal, is in the educated sense and conscience of men; generalized, indeed, in the ethical maxims of Christianity, but to be reconciled with the largest and latest experience, and freest mental tendencies, of the human race, — science and faith to be perfectly reconciled in one. The more irregular, uncertain, and slow the process, the more certainly it is needed. The Catholic Church was a thousand years — from Paul to Hildebrand — in bringing its power to full maturity; and it may well be a century or two before one more enduring and deeper laid shall be constructed out of the chaos that attends the disintegration of that wondrous fabric.

Then as to the previous conditions of such authority. We have seen that, for the Middle Age, these were found in the doctrinal development of the Western Church, — in that array of metaphysical dogma which has been the point of departure of every dogmatic system since, and which Protestantism has done little else than revise and trim to more modern fashions. Meanwhile, an independent growth of thought has assigned conditions of another sort, to which it will henceforth compel respect. Moral or religious truth must be organized in harmony with the severest intellectual demands of a scientific age. Not that we are to substitute science for conscience; or overlook the fact, that all authority of avail for the life has its hold upon the religious nature. But it has its intellectual conditions too, to which social ethics, or the religion of humanity, however much in earnest, must fain submit. Right thinking is the needful forerunner of right acting: the hotter the action, the cooler the thought. Truth is sovereign in all souls that recognize it. And it is by accepting the truth offered us

from every quarter, that we shall by degrees secure the firm foundation of that Authority to which both ourselves and others must render homage.

This process implies a more intellectual and scientific treatment of social wants and evils than has been prevalent hitherto. Men who are capable of such discussion must show the way, and men capable of understanding them must follow. The many directions in which we need, just at this time, resolute, faithful, and profound investigation of such topics will at once suggest themselves. The Church forfeits the dignity of her position, and surrenders her grasp upon the future, as soon as she knowingly consents to shut herself out from them. If her existence is to be justified, if her claim of a Divine commission is not a mockery, she is the organ, though as yet imperfect, weak, and out of joint, of a Power whose full development is reserved to a coming age. Absolute Truth, which is impersonal and divine, is the basis of her authority. And just as she is sincere in accepting and resolute in proclaiming it, will she inherit that invincible faith of the mediæval Church — witnessed in the stern consistency of its ambitious policy, and in every unfinished cathedral-tower — in a Future that shall complete its work. Faith in her own future can exist only by allegiance to the Truth, which is one and eternal.

But as a herald or interpreter of truth, the Church can be at best but one among a multitude of agencies. Its special province seems to be to organize the conscience and moral life. A vague and passionate protest against existing evil is but the feeble first essay of its strength, — inevitable and right, but ineffectual; while the maturest and clearest thought is barren, until interpreted in act. Here is a point where the humblest and feeblest of existing churches can do its share. And so with the Christian Church at large. Its great and most potent agencies will doubtless always be the culture of mind and heart at home, — the sympathies, associations, and spiritual influences that belong to it in virtue of its inheritance from the early Christian age. But already, in its incipient missions and works of charity, to say nothing of the special movements of reform that have “come out” from its bosom, it recognizes something of its larger claim. The moral forces of Christendom are get-

ting slowly organized. And we do not know that we can better express our conception of the Church as it should be, than by saying that it shall hereafter reconcile, in one harmonious and powerful league, all those agencies which now sustain the separate and too often hostile organizations of churches, charities, and reform; that, in a word, it shall be to the free and expansive moral life of the present day what the Catholic Church was to that of a thousand years ago.

Any less broad or elevated conception seems to us wholly unworthy of the subject and the time. The Church cannot claim its true position, as the spiritual power we need, until, with a better understanding of its position, and a more intelligently concerted effort, it undertakes the twofold task thus laid upon it by the condition and wants of society. It is not so much the change of present instruments, or the multiplication of them, that we require, as a clearer consciousness that by means of them we are working to so vast issues, and with so goodly a fellowship; that in proportion as a thought or a deed of ours corresponds with a real want, or is in league with an eternal truth, we are working towards the building up of the Christian structure of the future, which shall realize to another age the kingdom of God on earth, in a larger and truer sense than the structures of the Christian civilization of the past.

And it is with the conviction that our position in the theological world brings us into nearer harmony than others with the thoughts and purposes of God for the coming age, that the above view is urged. Once clearly seeing its position, and true to it, the Congregational Church of New England generally has within easiest reach the handling of that power.* We have strong faith in its capabilities, imperfectly as they have hitherto been developed. Not, certainly, that this or any other will monopolize or appropriate to itself that exercise of power which must be shared among many by the very genius of a Protestant republic; but that it seems less than any other trammelled by adverse conditions. It

* "Of all existing clerical bodies," says Comte, "that of the United States seems to me the only one which holds a true spiritual power, — i. e. an authority, at once mental and moral, resulting from the free consent of a public liberated from all external constraint."

deals more simply and directly with the moral forces it seeks to guide, while it retains at least as strong a hold upon old reverence, and the living traditions of the past.

And for ourselves in particular, no other denomination of Christians, perhaps no other visible society among men, is as well prepared as that termed "Liberal," to accept the elements of it in all their simplicity and strength. The fictitious and declining theologies of the past, so strange to the cultured understanding of the present age, we have outgrown, without the loss of the sacred sanctions, sympathies, and hopes that are the inheritance of the Church of Christ. This twofold condition we have already attained. Limited as we are in number, and shut out by our very name from many a sacred privilege we covet, it would be the inflation of sectarian vanity to claim for ourselves exclusively the inaugurating of that spiritual power which shall meet broadly the whole fact and want of the time. It is an alliance, not a fusion, of moral forces that we would bring about. We seek the control of others as little as we surrender to them control over us. But we may at least, by the advantage of our position, do more (we claim) than any other religious body to define and realize to ourselves the true conditions of that power, and, under Providence, to be heralds of the way. The Church feeling, based on affectionate loyalty to God and Christ, is deepening among us year by year: let it be followed up by a larger and truer apprehension of the Church's function as a consecrated, divine agency in human life. Then it shall be our commission to lay deeply and broadly the foundation of that "spiritual house" which is our Lord's temple for the coming age.

But the Church is of no sect, and represents no exclusive tendency. Intellect trained by the methods of modern culture, and in the arena of modern controversy, conscience grasping still a wider range of moral vision, with the rich fruits of Christian experience which near twenty centuries have brought to ripeness, all have their place within its shelter. The very test of its divine commission is, that in each regard it embodies the purest and noblest life of humanity.

Too long has the assertion of that commission been the shield of spiritual despotism or narrow and mean

ambitions. In the Church of Christ that shall be worthy of the name, society needs not an arena for the strife of tongues, not a university of popular debate, not stray bands and isolated groups of theorists, to speculate about the past and future and metaphysics of our Faith. It needs leagued and earnest men to do its work. It needs to have the broad way of Truth thrown open, for the reconciliation of jarring sects. It needs the more large and complete development of a "spiritual power" commensurate with the life, the intelligence, enterprise, and moral energies of this age, which may control the antagonisms of a rude civilization, and soothe the bitter strifes of party. Already lines of old division fade, like constellations of the night in the kindling dawn; and soon, let us trust, we may guide our brotherly steps by the risen sun.

We close in the language of our author, from whom we are too often compelled to differ not to welcome with frank acknowledgment such words as these:—

"Neither in religion nor in morality do I believe that we can wholesomely or reasonably cut our connection with the past, wherein are the roots which fed our moral life. . . . For as the very rich grow rapidly richer, so the most wealthy in religious wisdom have most power of increasing their wealth, if at least there be the stimulus of practical life. Without this, wisdom-getting is a kind of miserly hoarding, of which men grow tired: and even in pure science, the call of practical problems has been needed to stimulate high discovery. But if a spiritual church were truly in organic connection with daily active philanthropy, each part would aid to develop the other. Philanthropy would impel to discussions of morality, and constantly throw new lights on religious questions: religion would reanimate the soul of philanthropy, and by its intense energies fortify it for all self-denial and all simplicity of individualism. Much, much will become possible, when the New Church rises into power for action: until then is a time for preparation, — a time of lamenting and secret groaning over the unremedied evils of innocent millions, — yet a time, not of despondency, but of hopefulness; for the dawn already glimmers, and our children will see it rise." *

J. H. A.

* Essay, pp. 112, 113.

ART. VI.—POETRY.

EASTER.

LET our thoughts go back on this Easter day,
And kneel by Christ's tomb so holy, and pray ;
And as we are kneeling, can we not hear
Those words so comforting, priceless, and dear :
" Why seek ye the living among the dead ?
The Lord has arisen ! " though years have fled,
Even now in our deep souls they vibrate still,
And more humbly we bend to the Father's will,
Feeling death can but strike the poor trammels away,
Spirit riseth in glory, but earth can decay.
And feeling besides, that, though risen above,
Christ dwells with us still by the might of his love.
Can we not hear him, as once when he said,
" Come unto me, all ye living, ye dead,
Come unto me, ye weary, ye laden,
Rest I will give you, — a peaceful haven ;
My yoke is easy, my burden is light,
My cross shall uphold you when darkest the night !
I will pray to the Father, and he shall give
The Spirit of Truth in your hearts to live, —
My messenger faithful, whom ye shall know
By the comfort and strength that he will bestow."
In teachings like these, we hear his mild voice
Still pleading with all to awake and rejoice.
Our Christ hath arisen ! O Father, we raise
Our voices on high in loud pæans of praise,
For the Son of thy love, whom in mercy thou 'st given,
For his cross on the earth, for his crown in the heaven.

A. E. G.

SIR JOHN FRANKLIN'S EXPEDITION.

Nor with the clang of arms,
Or trumpet's loud alarms,
Or weapons that should drip with human gore,
Went out th' adventurous band
Unto the frozen land,
To fight the Frost King on his own bleak shore.

Science sailed with them forth
Unto the ice-bound North,
And bade them wrest her secrets from His hold ;
With purpose firm as steel,
Thought fixed on future weal,
She armed, instructed them against the cold ;

For the long, dazzling day
Of months' enduring ray,
And equal night of dull, funereal gloom ;
The winter's fearful length,
The cold's death-wielding strength,
The earth enshrouded as in Nature's tomb.

Sleet mailed each mast and shroud,
Vast icebergs cracking loud
Threatened them hourly with o'erwhelming fate ;
On pressed the noble crew,
With hearts as firm as true,
To bid the Frost King stern unbar his gate.

So passed they on from sight :
Uncertainty's dark night
Hung o'er them, clouded by the veil of years :
Eyes dimmed in many a home,
Watching to see them come,
Or wept as for the dead with bitter tears.

Traces at length are found,
And mournful tales spread round,
And with earth's martyrs are their names enrolled ;
The North its secret keeps,
The Frost King grimly sleeps,
Safely environed by the ice and cold.

Science alone remained,
Baffled and speechless, pained
That human life must yield to Nature's power ;
But still for unknown quest
She fills men with unrest,
And loads with wondrous dreams the Future's hour.

ART. VII. — STRAUS-DURCKHEIM'S NATURAL THEOLOGY.*

JOSEPH DE MAISTRE has somewhere said, that we are still living in the eighteenth century, meaning thereby that the age of revolution and anarchy has not closed. We like better the more just and discriminating views of Jouffroy, who holds that the intentionally destructive period in the great sceptical era has past; that the present age is eminently reconstructive, at least in purpose, most of its disorders originating in the over-eagerness or want of judgment with which its thousand plans of reconstruction are urged. However this may be, one thing is plain. Though there is a sense in which it may be said that the same movement is still going on, the spirit which presides over it is very different from that which prevailed in the days of the Encyclopedists, and of the first French Revolution.

The books under review afford a good illustration of this change. The author, one of the most distinguished among the elder living naturalists, begins the Preface of the first-mentioned work with these words:—

“Animated by the most lively admiration of the wisdom and beauty manifest in the organized beings whose structure I was studying, and with a heart penetrated with sentiments of reverence and love for the Omnipotent Author of so marvellous a work, I long ago formed the project of some day closing my scientific career by publishing the most remarkable facts in natural history which had come under my observation, serving to demonstrate the fundamental truth, that not only all living beings, but the entire universe, is the work of an Almighty Intelligence, who drew it out of nothing,—an Intelligence whose existence has generally been admitted hitherto on the sole testimony of an instinctive voice within, which commands most men to believe in a Supreme Being. As those, however, who do not hear, or who distrust this voice, must be without this conviction, they are left in unhappy doubt on the whole subject, if indeed,

* *Théologie de la Nature.* Par HERCULE STRAUS-DURCKHEIM. Paris. 1852. 3 vols. 8vo.

Catéchisme raisonné d'une Doctrine Religieuse conforme à la Théologie de la Nature; c'est-à-dire fondée sur des Preuves Irréfragables tirées des Faits propres aux Sciences Naturelles. Par HERCULE STRAUS-DURCKHEIM, Docteur ès Sciences. Paris. 1855. 12mo. pp. 71.

more deplorable still, they do not fall into atheism. Besides, why seek in uncertain indications the demonstration of this important verity, when it can be seen so evidently, written as it were by the hand of the Eternal, in the sublime organisms of living beings; — veritable symbolic hieroglyphs, each one of which confirms, in its admirable complication, the entire doctrine of a sound theology, thus made to rest, as it should, on the observation of facts, and the incontestable conclusions of reason deduced therefrom; proofs which will not permit the slightest hesitation even in minds the most sceptical, nor afford the least refuge for deception or bad faith."

This purpose he carried into effect in 1852, his age and the rapid failure of his sight having admonished him that the time for this appropriate and graceful termination of his scientific labors had come. Not content, however, with teaching theology to such as could follow him in his scientific method, he has, during the last year, given the substance of his learned treatise in the form of a brief Catechism, accommodated to the minds of the young. Here his theology becomes a positive religion, including a great variety of inculcations respecting a future state, prayer, the times and modes of worship, inspiration and free-will; and also details respecting our moral and religious duties, not overlooking our duties to animals. In both works his relations to Christianity, in respect to its foundation and authority, are unsatisfactory; but, especially as regards its spirit and teachings, they are far from being antagonistic. Thus, in speaking of its Founder, he says: —

"No man nourishes at the bottom of his heart a sentiment of profounder admiration than I do for the sublime qualities of Jesus Christ, whose sweetness of temper and ineffable goodness, extending even to generous indulgence, and, above all, his piety, so rigorously pure, command for him the most respectful veneration; especially as he carried his fervent faith and love of neighbor to the extent of devoting himself to a martyr's death, that he might seal with his blood the new covenant with God which he has formed in his own person among his disciples, in thus giving to men the sublime example of preferring to suffer the most frightful punishments rather than falter in the least in the trial of their faith in God, — a sacrifice by which he has become THE SAVIOUR OF ENTIRE HUMANITY, in leading mankind to comprehend their real duties towards the Supreme Being. But my conscience will never permit me to elevate him so far

in my thoughts as to assimilate him to the Divinity, accepting as an article of faith the assertion of those who, of their own head, have proclaimed him *the only Son of the Eternal God*, and this, too, in contradiction to what Jesus Christ has many times said of himself; much less can I adopt the doctrine first advanced by the early Christians, who, carrying their enthusiasm farther still, identified him with the Creator himself. Veritable blasphemy! by which they would reduce the Divinity to the level of men, in pretending that the Supreme Being has descended so far as to take a mortal form in order that he might instruct men in the holy doctrine he wished to have taught, and *offer up himself as a holocaust for the ransom of the human race*. From the analysis which I am going to give of the Gospels, it will be seen how little foundation there is for these dogmas."—*Théologie de la Nature*, Vol. III. pp. 9, 10.

His language in speaking of the Christian miracles is more guarded:—

"As to the miracles of Jesus Christ, recorded by the Evangelists, I have, as in the case of those ascribed to Moses, no occasion to discuss their reality in the present work. If Jesus Christ really had power to work miracles, it belongs not to me to deny it; their impossibility cannot be established by *demonstrative proofs*, the proofs on which I everywhere found the assertions I advance, and especially my negative assertions. I must, therefore, leave this inquiry to metaphysicians and psychologists, who are more competent than I to determine it."—Vol. III. pp. 17, 18.

With all this language of reserve, it is nevertheless but too plain that the author regards the supernatural origin of Christianity as unproved. Like Kant, he reveres the Gospel and accepts it, as far as he accepts it at all, on moral grounds alone. In his "analysis," as he terms it, of the Old and New Testaments, filling nearly a quarter of his three volumes, he everywhere adopts the expositions of writers of the Naturalist School, so much in vogue in the early part of the present century. According to him, Jesus Christ completed the moral and religious reform which Moses began; that is, he became the teacher of a *pure theism*, inculcating not merely the doctrine of the unity and perfections of God, which the Jews had received long before from their great lawgiver, but also that of eternal life and a righteous retribution. It is to the credit of theism, thus understood, that it was laid down by such a teacher; yet as he does not concede

to this teacher divine authority, or assume that he was inspired in any proper sense of that word, it does not follow that what he laid down must be true. According to the author of the work before us, we still have a right to demand *the proof*; and proof, abundant and overwhelming, he undertakes to give.

He considers that this proof is to be found chiefly, if not exclusively, in the organized bodies of living beings. In many inorganic substances, in crystals, for example, there is orderly arrangement; and still more, in the motions of the heavenly bodies, and in the forces by which they are held in their orbits; so that, supposing the existence of God already established, we find there most impressive indications of his wisdom and power. But he thinks it difficult, if not impossible, to begin by *demonstrating* the non-eternity of matter, or that these effects might not result from the essential properties of matter, or from what we call its laws. However, we are glad to see that his own *theory*, even of the inorganic world, is entirely removed from all atheistic or pantheistic leanings.

Thus, in respect to the origin and constitution of matter itself, four theories have been entertained. The first is, that God created it out of nothing in the beginning; the second, that matter in substance has existed from all eternity, but as mere chaos, until God, by clothing it with its present properties, began to subject it to order and law; the third, that matter, with its present properties and laws, has existed from all eternity, so that when it is said God *created* the world, nothing more is meant than that he constructed it out of pre-existing materials; and the fourth and last, that matter, with its present properties and laws, has existed from all eternity, and that the universe is the necessary result of the same, no Creator being required or supposed. Only one of these theories is openly and essentially atheistic, but the author of this work adopts the first; the same which is generally held in the Church, and which admits a creation in the fullest and strictest sense. Against the last or atheistic theory he argues with some subtilty, and from a purely scientific point of view.

“ Finally, if we examine the hypothesis which makes matter to have possessed and manifested from all eternity the same

properties as now, one inevitable consequence flowing from it is, that nothing could ever have commenced by effect of those properties, seeing that all commencement supposes *a time anterior* to such commencement; — a time which could not have been, inasmuch as the effects must have been equally eternal with the causes producing them. That is to say, the form, the structure, and the disposition of the stars are from all eternity what they are to-day, contrary to the demonstration of Laplace; in other words, the periods which the several stars run over could never have commenced, and consequently could never have been. A single fact will be sufficient to explain what is here advanced in general terms; namely, the central fire of the terrestrial globe. If this state of fusion had place originally (from all eternity), it is impossible that the heat should have diminished so as to render the surface of the earth habitable for living beings, or that it may one day disappear entirely; for if we allow *a certain time*, no matter how long, for it to arrive at a complete cessation, or even to a slight diminution, this effect must necessarily have had place also from all eternity; that is to say, it never could have had place; and, nevertheless, it exists.” — Vol. III. pp. 281, 282.

So, likewise, in his theory of the origin and constitution of the heavenly bodies and of the solar system, he cannot dispense, to say the least, with Aristotle's Unmoved Mover, whence all motion arose. He begins what he has to say on this subject by conceding, that we are not to look to astronomy, any more than to mineralogy, physics, or chemistry, for a direct and independent proof of the existence of God; though it supplies the best and most striking illustrations of his omnipotence. No wonder that the sublime harmony of the heavens should have excited in all ages the imagination of men, or that they should have thought to find there the most convincing proof of the Divine existence; but, in strictness, it should be regarded merely as showing the Creator's illimitable power.

“So true is this, that all, *save the primitive impulse by which the stars were animated*, is simply the effect of laws which rule the properties inherent in brute matter, and more particularly of the law of universal gravitation, which, in the opinion of materialists, has belonged to matter from all eternity. Hence, according to them, what we justly admire in the sublime mechanism of the heavens is, in principle, nothing but the result of mathematical fatality; in other words, the whole universe exists as it is,

because it could not be otherwise. And, indeed, were we to limit ourselves, as they do, to these observations alone, there would be no valid objection to the ground here taken; but their theories, however learned, can never explain whence arose that *primitive impulse*, which animated not only the stars, but also all other beings in nature. To this question they are careful never to mount up, being unable to resolve it except by calling in a power foreign to nature, — a power which can be no other than that of the One Supreme Intelligence who commands the entire universe." — Vol. I. pp. 25, 26.

In the same strain the author proceeds to demonstrate that Laplace's celebrated theory to account for the origin of the solar system may be true, as far as it goes, without making "the hypothesis of a God," as Laplace himself somewhat irreverently terms it, any the less necessary.

"Indeed, the memoir of Laplace has succeeded very well in explaining mathematically the actual formation of our planetary system, starting, as he does, from the fact, that originally the whole existed as an immense atmosphere in chaos around the sun, a solid body in rapid motion. But how came the sun to be in existence at that time as a solid body, and not in chaotic diffusion like the rest? and what power was able to impress upon it the mighty movement with which it was then animated? Finally, why did not the chaos of the entire planetary system precipitate itself directly from every part upon the centre, to form with it a single mass? The learned astronomer has taken care not to raise these questions, being unable doubtless to resolve them by his mathematical demonstrations. Admitting, however, that all this was so, for some reason however inexplicable, it is also necessary further to admit, with the illustrious geometer, that, anteriorly to the epoch when the chaos was put in movement, the movement of the sun itself existed not, and could not have begun until then; for at the instant when it commenced, it must have been communicated to the diffused matter of the chaos which surrounded that star: an incontestable proof that this movement of the sun existed not itself from all eternity, and that it must have been given at the epoch of the formation of the planets. What power gave it? This question always returns, as soon as we elevate ourselves a little above the theory of facts purely physical, of which observation makes us directly cognizant; but this is what many scientific men never think of doing.

"Thus it is that certain astronomers, and among others the celebrated Lalande, have been able to be atheists, their researches

having been exclusively confined to the observation of the material facts of the celestial phenomena as the sole matter of calculation, without ever thinking of the inductions to be drawn from them, whether under the relation of the conditions of the existence of these facts, or under that of their primary causes. These men, though very skilful calculators, never elevate themselves to the philosophical questions of their science ; shutting themselves up in the theory of facts, where all, indeed, is so rigorously precise that the boldest imagination is astounded, being unable to conceive how it is possible that stars, which take up millions of years perhaps in accomplishing their revolution, are yet never a single moment belated. If they were so, it would follow necessarily that their motion would be wholly arrested sooner or later, seeing that the least time thus lost could never be regained ; nay, as this loss would renew itself from the same causes at each revolution, it would lessen each time the force and velocity impressed on the star in the beginning, and leave it at last stationary in space.

“ From what has been said, it appears that facts considered as pertaining solely to the mathematical and physical sciences furnish no direct *proof of the existence* of a Supreme Intelligence who ordained these facts by creating the properties which produced them, and through them the entire universe ; nevertheless, that existence once established by irrefragable demonstrations, these same facts afford proofs the most evident of the omnipotence, sublime wisdom, and omniscience of a Supreme Being, the sole First Cause of all that is.” — Vol. I. pp. 27 – 29.

The author proceeds to show, that these “irrefragable demonstrations” are found everywhere in the admirable structure of organized beings.

“ Here matter, elevated to a higher degree of activity, no longer forms, as in minerals, simple masses, either homogeneous or heterogeneous as the case may be, of which each part represents the whole, and hence its name, *a specimen* ; but instead of mere masses, we have wholes more or less complicated, composed of unlike parts or organs, each of which performs some special function contributing to the end these beings are called to fulfil ; — wholes to which we give the name of *individuals*, as being indivisible, or as being incapable of being divided without the loss of some of their parts rendering them incomplete. In such cases, as in ordinary mechanics, the matter which constitutes the beings in question not only presents the natural characters which are specially proper to it as matter, but also, in every part, forms, dispositions, and actions which, having nothing to do with those properties, show with incontestable evidence that they are to be

referred to the intervention of an all-powerful creative Intelligence ; and this proof we find even in the minutest details of the structure of animalcules so small as to be invisible to the naked eye." — Vol. I. p. 29.

Other illustrations of this argument are given in the next chapter, entitled "Proofs of the Existence of God and his Attributes, drawn from General Considerations on the Organization of Living Beings"; from which we take the following.

"In what has just been said, I have only indicated the two great functions by which the bodies of living beings grow and are nourished ; but all must perceive that these functions themselves exact several conditions of existence without which they could not be exercised. Take, for example, the simplest form of their manifestation, as in plants, where the individual absorbs directly by its surface, and specially by certain parts of it, called the *absorbent organs* (the ends of the roots), those substances which are found dissolved in the fluids in contact with the above-mentioned organs. We see at once that this absorption cannot take place by means of a simple physical action, such as capillarity, which makes water to penetrate a sponge ; for, in that case, everything would be drawn in, and the circulatory vessels would be filled with liquids, much the largest portion of which would not help nutrition, but, on the contrary, operate as poison by obstructing more or less the action of the organs. Indeed, the substances introduced into the economy of the plant being simply mineral, (they must necessarily have been so to the first living beings created,) they would be of a nature completely different from those of which the organs are composed ; whence it follows, not only that the absorbent organs *must* have, as in fact they do, a faculty to absorb such only of the surrounding substances as can enter into the composition of the fluid in circulation in the plant, but also *to make choice* as regards the special qualities which the nutritive sap requires ; and this again makes it necessary that the form and composition, and consequently the faculties, of the absorbent organs should be different in each species, — a condition which supposes incontestably, that *these organs have been planned and formed under the influence of an intelligent Cause*, having *prescience* of the effects to be produced." — Vol. I. pp. 39, 40.

Having vindicated the soundness of this reasoning by showing that in the creation of organized beings effects take place, not as the necessary consequences of what went before, but as the necessary conditions of what is

to come after, thus demonstrating foresight, and therefore mind,—a plan, and a mind working according to it,—the author proceeds to apply the same, in successive chapters, to the four great departments in the animal kingdom, the Vertebrates, the Articulates, the Mollusks, and the Zoöphytes; and afterwards to particular facts in the organism and faculties of animals in their relation to each other, and especially to those connected with reproduction. To follow him in these details would be wearisome and unprofitable. His method, as the reader will perceive, agrees substantially with that adopted by Dr. Roget, in the first volume of his Bridgewater Treatise, except that the order is reversed. Also, in the general treatment of the several topics, the two works resemble each other, with this distinction, however, that the French treatise keeps the theological purpose more constantly in view. We miss in both the vivacity of Paley, his felicitous manner of raising the question, and his easy, lucid, and idiomatic style; but, as a compensation for these deficiencies, we have in the works of these naturalists a much higher authority for the facts adduced, and much better evidence, especially in the more recent French treatise, that there is nothing in the latest scientific discoveries to invalidate the argument.

There is also another advantage resulting from the form under which the argument is here presented. Design is not inferred, as in Paley, from the alleged existence of special contrivances for special uses, but from the alleged existence of order and plan pervading all nature. As Baden Powell has said: "The instances in which we can trace a *use* and a *purpose* in nature, striking as they are, after all constitute but a very small and subordinate portion of the vast scheme of universal order and harmony of design which pervades and connects the whole. Throughout the immensely greater part of nature we can trace *symmetry* and *arrangement*, but not the *end for which* the adjustment is made. But this is no way a less powerful proof of design and intelligence than the former. The most exact and recondite adaptation of means to accomplish an obvious end is *no more peculiarly* an evidence of design, than the universal arrangement according to determinate laws which pervades the depths of cosmical space,—where we are least

able to trace any end. Symmetry and beauty are *results of mind* of at least as high an order as mechanical efficiency. A mere numerical relation invariably preserved, but no farther connected with any imaginable purpose, or a systematic arrangement of useless parts or abortive organs on a regular plan, are just as forcible indications of intelligence, as any results of immediate practical utility." *

The existence of a living and personal God being put, as our author thinks, beyond question, he gives a single chapter to the refutation of the materialist theories of cosmogony, with special reference to the doctrine of spontaneous generation, — from which the following extract is taken.

"Lamarck, a very learned botanist and conchologist, but feeble in anatomy and physiology, thought that God did not directly create animals, but simply the laws which, in their action on brute matter, have had the effect to produce them in their present infinite variety. Although Lamarck was not really a materialist, he nevertheless thought, with them, that organized beings existed at first under extremely simple forms, where all relations among the organs would be useless; relations which have been slowly established as the effect of *necessity*; as if necessity, which is here merely a want without means and without force, could produce the least thing. This *savant* thought, also, that these animals, primitively very simple, have been still further transformed in process of time by perfecting themselves more and more; and hence the large number of species very elevated in the scale of beings, that we know to-day. The same naturalist cites in this connection as one instance the *goose*, which, according to him, has become the *swan*, merely by elongating its neck in order to see farther on the water. If Lamarck had understood comparative anatomy and physiology, he never would have advanced this absurdity; for, though the two birds resemble each other, he would have known that, among many other characters which distinguish them, there is this, — that while the *goose* has a neck of fourteen vertebræ, the *swan* has one of twenty-three. Whence it results that, in the transformation of the *goose* into the *swan*, supposing it to take place, the thousand intermediate varieties which would exist must offer us the nine additional vertebræ belonging to the latter bird, in all imaginable degrees of development from the first rudiment to entire perfection, — modifications of which not the smallest trace is found. Moreover, this

* Unity of Worlds, p. 135.

learned conchologist, but very feeble logician, attaches a false notion to the word *elongate*, which signifies here to *hold upright*, and not to *lengthen out*; for he ought to have known that animals in holding up their neck press the vertebræ one upon another, instead of separating them. By reasoning equally vicious, the same *savant* has endeavored to explain how the feet of a land-bird become webbed; namely, by this alone, that he takes to the water, as has happened in the case of *ducks*; as if any birds, such as *hens*, for instance, might go into the water so often that in the end their feet would become webbed. He also adds, that this effect takes place in consequence of these animals spreading out their toes in order to swim; as if a *hen*, with its feet formed as they are, would ever seek to swim: and besides, Lamarck has not comprehended that just the contrary should happen in the case supposed; that is to say, in the effort to separate the toes, the membrane which unites them in the *duck* would be torn, and his feet become those of the *hen*.

“ I cite these two examples, adduced by a writer otherwise of great merit, in order to show how erroneous opinions, resting on facts badly observed, are apt to lead to the gravest faults of logic. Moreover, if a single organ, either by exercise or simply with time, could become a different thing from what it is, and consequently change its function, we should be unable to see any reason why others, and indeed the whole organism, might not become changed by a succession of self-modifications to such an extent as no longer to preserve that admirable harmony in the conditions of their existence which, nevertheless, we find everywhere; especially when we consider that a single change in a single organ will carry trouble into a whole system of organs, as we see in the case of monsters. And further, as each organ, by its form and function, is in itself independent, any modification of one would not produce the least change in another, whatever it might be, except troublesome perturbation. Hence we are obliged to admit here, as everywhere else, that the relations of existence, of form, of disposition, and of function, which we find brought together in the constitution of the same animal, as they are so precise and so remarkable, *must necessarily have been established by the sole supreme volition of an all-powerful Creator*. In fine, even if it were true, as Lamarck thought, though far from being a materialist, that God did not create immediately all the different species of animals, but only the laws which in their action on brute matter have produced them, this opinion would only have the effect to carry a little farther back the solution of the question, without making it any the less true in principle, that *the Supreme Being has created each species in particular*. Nay, admitting only that God

has established the creative laws, these, as they thus become the determining causes of all that exists, must include necessarily the conditions in which each object is produced; whence it results that in the creation of these laws is found already implicitly the creation of the beings themselves,—in other terms, *an expression of the Divine will that they should be produced*, which is equivalent on the part of God, whose will is all-powerful, to the direct creation of the beings in question; for nobody has ever thought that God created them as the sculptor moulds and shapes a statue.”—Vol. II. pp. 343–346.

The author of this work is neither a psychologist nor a metaphysician; and not much of a philosopher. Accordingly, we find here no answer to some of the most subtle objections which have been raised against the whole argument from final causes; and, indeed, no proper recognition of these objections as really existing, at least to some minds. What we have in this work is neither more nor less than nature, as seen through the eyes of a thoroughly instructed naturalist; and as such, it becomes especially worthy of notice. Without doubt, the best argument for the being of a God which the book contains, is found in the religious impression which the thorough and patient study of nature has left on a mind not predisposed in favor of religion by a belief in revelation, or sympathy in the popular worship. It is not true of him, as has been said of others, that he is religious in spite of science; science constrains him to be religious. May we not regard it as one among many indications that science is becoming more and more thoroughly religious both in its scope and spirit? Formerly, and not long ago, hardly enough was understood of the plan of creation in order to know that it is a plan; now, when the naturalist, especially if he is an original observer, traces the connection and succession of animal types through the geological ages, and on the globe as constituted at present, he soon feels that he is not investigating the accidents of matter. He sees that the whole is a vast scheme of things, fully considered and matured in the beginning, and invariably pursued; that, in describing what are called the laws of nature, he is but interpreting the thoughts of God; that what is Law to us, is Will to him.

ART. VIII. — JOWETT ON EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL.*

OUR usual custom in copying the title-pages of the books which we review is to omit the academic and professional epithets connected with the names of their authors. For a good reason, we depart from that custom in allowing the words "Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford," to follow the name "Benjamin Jowett" in the book-title given below. Those academic and professional titles are not among the least significant phenomena presented to us in connection with these very remarkable and most valuable volumes. We have found ourselves asking, What is the tenure of office, what are the implications of belief and the conditions of profession, exacted of one who holds a fellowship in an English university? We know that it is requisite that he should have signed the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, should have taken holy orders in that communion, and be a celibate, — an unmarried man. The signature affixed to those Articles is understood by all who do not accord with Paley's ingenious and convenient construction of them, to imply a belief in the doctrines which they teach. But the "Fellow" whose admirable offering to the cause of sound biblical scholarship has afforded us equal delight and amazement, must have a method more ingenious than that of Paley's for reconciling two such different uses of his pen as were required for affixing his signature to the aforesaid Articles and for writing these volumes. That other persons who have a responsibility and a power in the case which do not belong to us have all of our amazement, in connection with some other feeling, is evident from the information brought to us in recent English papers, to the effect that Mr. Jowett has been challenged for the alleged heretical character of this work, and has met the charge by signing over again the same Articles.

Our readers may ask what there is in these volumes to cause us such an amazement. We answer, that it is

* *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans: with Critical Notes and Dissertations.* By BENJAMIN JOWETT, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford. London: John Murray. 1855. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 417, 505.

caused simply by comparing their title-page with their contents. Here are books the very life and substance of which involve the fundamental and all-essential points of Christian doctrine which are in controversy between Unitarians and Trinitarians, between Congregationalists and Episcopalians, between the most liberal and the most conservative parties in Christian theology, and yet there is not a Unitarian, or a Congregationalist, or a liberal in theology, who might not have written, and, saving one single qualification, who would not accept and gratefully acknowledge the truth of the chief contents of these books. We have made one qualification because of an element of "rationalism" in the volumes. If a Professor in the Theological School at Cambridge had produced this work, our brethren would have approved of its contents, excepting only against that element of rationalism.

Yet we do wrong to say that the facts of the case before us cause us amazement, or affect us as a surprise, an inexplicable phenomenon. We should rather say, that we ought to be surprised by them, and should be so, had not many anticipatory tokens assured us of the tendency of one of the most scholarly and earnest sections of the comprehensive church established by law in England. Thirty years ago a high religious interest associated with a vigorous mental reaction was working at Oxford, which engaged the excited attention of all classes. The development of its results in those who proved to be its strongest men was the basis of what is now known as Puseyism. It was thought by some at the time that the epithet of *New Mania*, given to the movement in the spirit of levity, was more befitting the zeal which has won so many converts of distinction to the Roman Church. But as Newman has actually gone over to that Church, while Pusey has remained in the English communion, the latter is the better entitled to stand as the responsible exponent of his party, and to give it its title. Oxford has at any rate vindicated itself from the charge of lethargy and academic sloth during the whole of the last half-century at least. When we remember that the after-dinner circle in one of its Common Rooms found Froude and Newman, and Pusey and Keble, and Arnold and Blanco White and Whately,

in brotherly converse, and consider what variety of intellectual and religious workings are represented or associated with their names, we must acknowledge that every strong impulse in the present conflict of opinions has found some exciting or directing energy in those quiet academic shades.

In the volumes now in our hands, a noble fidelity to the Christian scholar's vocation combines with the utmost freedom of speculation which is consistent with a believing spirit, to open to us some of the oldest themes under the attractions of the freshest mode of treatment. There is no looking back with longing to the romance of an ecclesiastical communion unriven in its unity, there is no millinery or upholstery formalism in this contribution of Oxford theology. Mr. Jowett bears us into the very thick of all those dreaded antagonisms between the present and the past in the warfare of the faith, which are visiting upon its believers and defenders in this generation the consequences of the unsettled strifes, the ill-fought conflicts, and the smothered but unreconciled and evaded issues that have been demanding a fair adjustment ever since Protestantism proved truculent in its own high cause. So far from yielding to any timidity of spirit by a desire to make his candor on some delicate points cover silence upon others on which he need not have spoken, our author shows us that he can raise some new perplexities, and open difficulties, not for the sake of removing them, but simply to leave them after making us aware of them.

The basis of the volumes is Lachmann's revision of the Received Greek Text of the four Epistles which are commented upon. Whether or not Mr. Jowett puts an undue estimate on the value of Lachmann's version is a question which we will not enter upon, though we ought to say, in passing, that all will not agree with him in his high regard for it, and that on some points there are grave objections to it.

To each of the Epistles we have a carefully-written Introduction, dealing with questions of their genuineness, their localities and dates, their subject-matter and method. The Greek text is accompanied by an English translation, which is in the main that of our Common Version, except where it is conformed to revisions

introduced into the original. A large body of notes is made to illustrate the Greek words and phrases, the ideas, imagery, and logical construction of the Epistles, and to open anew all those materials and deductions which support the doctrines accepted or controverted among Christians. If the reader will compare a few pages of these notes, where considerations of emphatic importance are presented, — and such are on nearly every page, — with parallelisms of the text as commented upon, for instance, in Chalmers on the Romans, he will gain an idea of the difference of sounds which two different hands may draw from the same instrument.

Connected at intervals through the volumes with the larger themes inviting extended discussion are masterly dissertations upon the following topics:—Evils in the Church of the Apostolical Age; The Belief in the Immediate Coming of Christ; Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*; The Man of Sin; The Character of St. Paul; The Conversion of St. Paul; Relation of St. Paul to the Twelve; Quotations from the Old Testament in the New; St. Paul and Philo; Connection of Immorality and Idolatry; State of the Heathen World; Modes of Time and Place in Scripture; The Old Testament; The Imputation of the Sin of Adam; Conversion and Changes of Character; Contrasts of Prophecy; Casuistry; Natural Religion; The Law as the Strength of Sin; On Righteousness by Faith; The Doctrine of the Atonement; Predestination and Free-Will.

Now it would be a most ungracious task in us, as well as a most ungenerous treatment of a Christian scholar whose pages have given us a very high idea of his sincerity, his breadth of view, and his noble zeal for pure truth, to go through these dissertations to cull out their heresies, and in so doing to put the writer in the dilemma of inconsistency. And, indeed, if for the sake of any sectarian triumph we should set about that work, forgetting its ungraciousness under the goad of some of the provocations which might urge us upon it, we should hardly know how to array those heresies to the best advantage. They permeate the whole work, they make the very atmosphere of its life, the tissue of its substance. But they are not to be exhibited as a triumph over the

literalism and the dogmatism of the popular comments and creeds of Orthodoxy. The author knows very well how slender were the twigs which were originally woven into the elements of the popular faith, and also how stiff they have become and how strong is the network by which they bind and trammel the efforts of even the most independent thinker to reconstruct from the text of St. Paul the Christian conceptions of his own spirit. Mr. Jowett writes under the impulse of all the most living influences of our own age, and he keeps in view the changed aspect of the whole task expected from a Scriptural apologist or commentator. He recognizes the fact that the old method of writing upon the evidences of Christianity, in the spirit of an advocate, must yield to the exactions of a more thorough and sceptical and comprehensive criticism, which, by practising upon the true and false tests of profane history, has learned to apply more searching processes to the sacred records. The grand result of his own unflinching courage in meeting the highest exactions of modern scientific criticism, is immensely on the side of faith in historical Christianity. What he yields is little, and of lesser importance, compared with what he secures to us. He transfers some of the embarrassments which we meet with in the writings of St. Paul to the mind of the writer himself. He makes us realize that the Apostle was dealing with truths the compass of which he did not himself fully comprehend, to the depths of which he had not penetrated, and which he had not learned to digest and harmonize into what meets our idea of a system of Christian theology. The Gospel brought into the world new ideas, which were larger than the meanings of any words or phrases then in use for giving expression to them. Many of the views, conceptions, and doctrines which Christians think they have found in these Epistles, Mr. Jowett frankly assures us Christians have in fact brought to the study and interpretation of them. Judaism had furnished some truths, and Greek philosophy had furnished some terms of language, with the joint aid of which the free spiritual elements of the new faith had to provide a method and a channel for communicating themselves to the minds of men. The petty questions of verbal construction on which

some of the controversies of Christian sects have been made to turn, give place to a wholly different class of queries and perplexities, as opened in the notes and dissertations of our author.

It is but natural that we should find pleasure in the tokens constantly and conspicuously manifested of late years, that high and thorough and reverent Christian scholarship, in whatever communion it is pursued, turns to the vindication and illustration of those views of Scripture which have been characteristic of our own fellowship, and which have been made alike the grounds of our own assurance and the reasons for the opposition of other parties to us. In connection with this remark, and in view of an intimation already made by us of an element of "rationalism" in these volumes, we may refer to a criticism upon them which has doubtless attracted the attention of some of our readers. A very pointed and elaborate article in the *British Quarterly Review*, under the caption of "Neology of the Cloister," makes quite an alarming remonstrance against the spirit and method, and some of the conclusions, of this work. We must candidly affirm, that we do not discover in this work any really undeniable evidence of the spirit which the reviewer alleges runs through it. That its spirit is Hegelian we positively deny. It is an affront of a most uncalled for and undeserved nature towards the author to attempt to force him into a category with Auguste Comte, Miss Martineau, and Mr. Atkinson, three of the most intolerable theorists in matters too august for their poor conceit which any half-century ever produced. There are also grave misrepresentations and carping hypercriticisms of Mr. Jowett by his critic. For instance, the reviewer indulges in a satirical remark upon an incidental qualification made by Mr. Jowett on the perfect validity and pertinency of Paley's method in the *Horæ Paulinæ*. Mr. Jowett says: "The very clearness of Paley's style has given him a fallacious advantage with the reader." The reviewer ridicules this assertion that fallacies may be conveyed in the simple perspicuity as well as in the intricate obscurity of a skilled writer. But on the next page Mr. Jowett explains his meaning more fully, thus, speaking of some particular specimens of Paley's reasoning: "All are indebted for a part of their force to the perspicuity

of the writer, which flatters the reader into intelligence, and makes him ready to admit what he can so easily understand." As fair a statement as criticism ever made. Again, in his bold and vigorous delineation of the character of St. Paul, an essay which has many striking touches of originality, Mr. Jowett reminds us how some men of signal mark have been indebted to their power of presence, their manliness of form, their erectness and majesty of bearing, and how others, even if weak and deformed in body, have expressed in look a calm and heavenly beauty, on whose faces men have gazed "as upon the face of an angel." In contrast, the author says of Paul that he owed nothing to these gifts: "A poor, decrepit being, afflicted, perhaps, with palsy, certainly with some bodily defect." The reviewer is terribly shocked with this intimation of a palsy, — as much so as some Protestant readers have been by the hypothesis of a Roman Catholic commentator, who, thinking to find hereby an argument for the celibacy of the clergy, suggested that the Apostle's "thorn in the flesh," or "messenger of Satan," was a *wife* after the pattern of the great Greek philosopher's. And once more, the reviewer perverts a not unreasonable implication of Mr. Jowett's, conveyed in one clause of the following sentence: "Nor can we pretend to estimate whether, in the modern sense of the term, St. Paul was capable of weighing evidence, or how far he would have attempted to sever between the workings of his own mind and the spirit which was imparted to him." Surely a reader of St. Paul can hardly have confronted the phenomena presented by his occasional bewilderment among the labyrinths of Rabbinical allegorizing and the speculations and visions in which he knew not whether he was in the body or out of the body, without finding a harmless, as well as a justifiable, application of Mr. Jowett's words.

The element of rationalism of which we have taken note is slight, and is observable chiefly in Mr. Jowett's evident persuasion that the *inward* process was by far the more effectual agency in St. Paul's conversation than any outward manifestation. Whatever there may be of a rationalizing tone or spirit in the volumes is, however, reached and yielded to and manifested by the writer in a way quite in contrast with any destructive or

incredulous impulse. His reason discerns inspiration and miracle and divine interposition in matters of such pre-eminent and cogent evidence, that he might safely doubt the most on the very points on which others think they must weigh the pressure of their faith.

The full allowance made by Mr. Jowett, that the Apostles erroneously but firmly and fully expected the consummation of all things in their own age, and that they viewed the relations of the heathen to God under a blinding fancy which we cannot approve, is so completely warranted by the evidence which he displays, that it is impossible to cavil with him on either of these points. His dissertation on Casuistry, keen and vigorous and outspoken as are its large readings of this practical world, will doubtless be challenged as giving a questionable tolerance to a lax spirit of worldly conformity. In discussing such *questiones vexatæ* as present themselves in the essays on The Imputation of the Sin of Adam, The Law as the Strength of Sin, Righteousness (or Justification) by Faith, Predestination and Free-Will, Mr. Jowett makes clean work of the mystifications and tortuosities which Calvinistic theology has complicated with the simple Scriptural elements of some of the problems of our thought. His views on the nature of the change wrought by conversion, and on the mode in which the Old Testament is quoted in the New, are identical with those which have been over and over maintained in the pages of this journal. The essay on the Doctrine of the Atonement is on the whole a development of Unitarian views by a process which recognizes the elements of the vicarious scheme only to show alike their utter inconsistency with Gospel doctrine, and the manner in which they came into the minds of early Christians rather through words and images of a familiar character than through any divine warrant. Mr. Jowett, indeed, goes farther than we can accord with him in what has been regarded as the doctrinal direction of Unitarianism. Many Unitarians—we know not but what a majority of those around us—would not so completely subordinate all the efficacy of the death of Christ to merely a moral significance as does Mr. Jowett.

We are led to ask, in conclusion, How soon will these

expected results of scholarly study and of honest speculation, in an unexpected quarter, be brought down to the apprehension and use of a range of minds below that of the author? How soon will they mingle with a more popular belief, and rectify it, and relieve the wonder and doubt with which we now have to ask, not only of the *truth* of opinions, but also of the *honesty* of those who hold them.

G. E. E.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1. *The Newcomes. Memoirs of a Most Respectable Family.* Edited by ARTHUR PENDENNIS, Esq. By W. M. THACKERAY. Leipzig. 4 vols. 18mo. pp. 1325.
2. *North British Review for November, 1855.* "*Fielding and Thackeray.*"
3. *North American Review for January, 1856.* Critical Notices, No. 13: "*The Newcomes.*"
4. *London Quarterly Review for October, 1855.* "*The Newcomes.*"

THE following remarks upon Mr. Thackeray's writings would have been more opportune in our last number, for which they were prepared and put in type, though necessarily excluded by press of matter.

The merits of Mr. Thackeray as a thinker, writer, and storyteller have come to be discussed in various quarters with something of the temper of partisanship. The spirit, the skill, the interest, and the tendency of his books have all been very differently accounted of; and it is not often that the conflicting opinions about any author, whose only object is to amuse his readers, have been mixed with so much heat and acrimony. "*The Christian Examiner*" has already expressed its views on this subject. But as they have been somewhat tartly called in question, and as this whole matter touches in some degree on our religious province, there are a few more words that we wish to say.

And we may as well begin by avowing, that we think it questionable whether the popular "*novelist*" can be called a novelist at all, in the pure, artistic meaning of that term. We do not

see any quality in the quantity he has written, that proves the ability of composing a thorough novel, properly so called. That class of works requires a power of imagination and combination, which he nowhere shows that he possesses. It has methods and laws of its own. It must have a carefully arranged opening, development, and winding up, as much as the drama. It must be a whole, with complicated and interlacing parts. There must be unity with ever-shifting changes; a regular progress through the midst of doubts and surprises; various clews running tortuously to meet in the same point of common effect; some ingenuity of contrivance to keep the mind of the reader suspended and engaged, and swept forward, while it is swayed to and fro, by curiosity and emotion, and a constantly heightening sympathy. Think how Goldsmith has managed to fulfil all these conditions in so short and simple a story as "The Vicar of Wakefield," with its chaste language, its genial wit, its benign philosophy, its natural course of smiles and distresses;—and then tell us which one of the conditions is approached, in all the heavy batches of oddities from "The Yellowplush Papers" to "The Newcomes." What have we but a huddle of characters, without grouping, or proportion, or any abiding interest? In that last work, beside the personal bearings—which Mr. Thackeray seems never to forget—of the introductory apologue, and the tedious delays in getting at his story, there is such an entire absence of any stirring plot, that even the North British Reviewer is compelled to complain, that it not only leaves us almost in doubt whether the hero and heroine were married at all, "but also with an unpleasant impression that it is not much matter whether they are or not." And truly, that must remain a question of supreme indifference to the most curious and sensitive readers. A series of events, set in single file upon a highway, with nothing to look at on either side of the road, can hardly be called a novel. Bundles of memoirs, and snatches at history,—like much of what Mr. Galt has done so well in his way,—are scarcely novels. And no more are etchings of character, and slashes at aristocratic society, and descriptions of life and manners, whether actual or impossible, fairly entitled to that appellation. Mr. Thackeray is nothing so much as a sketcher in narrative, conversation, and portrait; excellent, perhaps, in his kind, but nevertheless we see everywhere the draughtsman, and little else than the draughtsman.

Having no disposition, however, to cavil about a mere word, we should not have said so much on this point but for the sake of showing how deficient we think him to be in a leading particular, when brought into comparison with the masters of prose fiction in every language and time, from the old Greek bishop

Heliodorus, who really had a good deal of ingenuity in him, down to our own day. Even as a story-teller we cannot assign to him a very distinguished eminence. He can talk dialogues. He can portray figures in crayon and chalk. He can relate incidents in simple succession, and even these rather as if they were cut in wood than painted in the colors of high art. But there his invention ends.

The measured words of our contributor seemed seasonable, now that the applauses of assemblies and the puffs of the journals are so strong in Mr. Thackeray's sails, and readers and audiences are caught with a celebrity which may prove unwholesome, and our young men and maidens are mistaking his caricatures for realities, and his cynicism for penetration, and imagine themselves becoming wise when they are only learning the shallowest depreciations of the world and man. The censure might have gone deeper, without being ill-natured or unjust. For the public morality has grave charges against an author who has so gained the eyes and ears of great multitudes of people, if, while he aims at nothing higher than the entertainment of idle hours, he can so deal with some of the most delicate sensibilities of the mind as to run the constant risk of affronting or perverting them.

Some persons appear to think that, because, in his last book especially, he has introduced some worthy and excellent persons,—amiable without being flats, and bright-witted without being sharps,—men and women, and not libels upon such,—he has quite retrieved himself, and now stands erect before all accusers. This is to mistake altogether the point at issue. The complaint is not chiefly that he has preferred to describe the coarse and base, the imbecile and wicked, and this in terms too low for polite use and too fast for the dictionaries. He is welcome to describe nothing else and nothing otherwise, if his taste finds that to be its vocation. It is not that, in painting his single characters, he distorts and exaggerates. It is that, when he writes in his own person, he has indulged in a sceptical spirit; and his tone has run vulgarly; and he has held up to the jeers of the superficial our weak, spotted, perverse, but inexpressibly deep human nature; and *woman* nature especially, which is its redeeming half. He should be held responsible for this, for it is not a stain upon the surface of his books, but a vice in their grain. And all this contemptuous satire does not carry with it the least appearance of any purpose or wish to make things better,—it is not the way to make them better,—but only for the sake of its grim jests or injurious irony. We must add, that his drolleries are not apt to provoke any hearty mirth, and his serious strokes rather make us feel disagreeably, than

touch the springs of sweet and noble tears. Now, has he retracted or qualified anything that has been most gravely found fault with? Absolutely not in the least. He had said in "Vanity Fair": "When you think that the eyes of your childhood dried at the sight of a piece of gingerbread, and that a plumcake was a compensation for the agony of parting with your mamma and sisters, O my friend and brother! you need not be too confident of your own fine feelings." Admirable logic! Profound psychology! Because the grieved child is pacified with sugar-plums, we must not think that any of our "fine feelings" are much above the low-water mark of the shallow and the selfish! And of women he had said: "They are born timid and tyrants, and maltreat those who are humblest before them." "Tender slaves that they are, they must needs be hypocrites and weak." The spirit of "Vanity Fair" lives on in "The Newcomes." Take a single quotation from the fifth chapter of the third volume: "Women go through this simpering and smiling life, and bear it quite easily. Theirs is a life of hypocrisy. Flattery is their nature; to coax, flatter, and sweetly befool some one, is *every* woman's business. *She is none*, if she declines this office." Verily the sex must be somewhat insensible, or extremely forgiving, if they can complacently endure such a persevering series of compliments.

The writer in the "North British," bold in his Calvinistic views of mankind, sets out a flaming eulogy of Mr. Thackeray, with a "protest against the *ignorance or hypocrisy* which is at the base of the main complaint brought against him." The very qualities, he says, which, in his recent writings, "scandalize large classes, confer upon his books an inexpressible attraction and value for those who really believe in original sin and human *imperfectibility*." If we understand that last word, which we never saw before, and which seems strangely misplaced here, it would be difficult to find any "large classes," if any person whatever, who do *not* "really believe" as the reviewer does on that special point. At the same time, we cannot help remembering that the old correlative of original sin used to be total depravity. We have no disposition, however, to catechise him on the soundness of his faith, though we must declare, for ourselves, that, if a man should believe that he can be perfect, it would be much nearer the truth, and much better for him, than to believe in a ruined nature and its consequent sentence of doom. The reviewer is disposed to charge the novelist "with the opposite error" of making his characters too good; for if he should represent them as bad as the average of the world really is, "he would be absolutely unreadable." We will not contest that last amiable opinion. We will only say, that it is quite

edifying thus to see the fruits of Orthodoxy dangling on the same bough with the crabbed deformities of the satirist of his kind. The sourness of religious dogma, and the waggeries of a somewhat profane wit, are brought together into a very singular agreement. It is not worth while to bandy cross words with the reviewer, but, without saying anything of "hypocrisy," it is tolerably clear that he is entirely unaware either of the main drift or the force of the objection which he supposes can so easily be preached out of the way.

Another of our contemporaries nearer home has just felt authorized to say that, since "The Newcomes," Mr. Thackeray has entirely won "the vantage-ground over Dickens; for there can be no difference of opinion as to his superiority in the command of language and in artificial resources and skill." No difference of opinion! But "*de gustibus non opus est fustibus*"; the case is not to be decided by wager of battle. And yet, since we have met with scarcely any one of this way of thinking, we cannot but conclude that the assertion is far too sweeping. Many, not wholly unskilled in letters, are of opinion that the distance is immeasurable between those two writers in every respect,—in narrative skill and the whole magic mastery of speech, as well as in their spirit, feeling, purpose, and humanity. We do not like the style of "The Newcomes" much better than we like its contents. It is diffuse and wearisome, abounding with scraps of all sorts of plundered prose and verse. It is a mish-mash of all languages, and of no language that is in use among gentlemen. It is positively deformed with the easy pedantry of classical quotation, hackneyed phrases in French and Italian, and cant words of which we are unwilling to write down the true title. The extravagant encomium in the last "London Quarterly" calls them "colloquial vulgarisms"; owning that they occur very often, and that, if they were not so well managed, they would "debase his style." It confesses, also, that such language "has hitherto revolted every person of cultivated mind," and it "fears the evil effect of such an example."

But we will say no more about style or skill. It is not with these that we are chiefly concerned. Our quarrel is not with such things. We believe Mr. Thackeray's books to be misleading and debasing in their general tendency. The world is prone enough to sinking, hasty enough to be disdainful, tempted easily enough to be vulgar in sentiment and speech, without the aid of a fashionable novelist to further it in these directions. We cannot but regard the extraordinary favor he has met with as one of the ill-omened literary phenomena of our times.

Since Dickens and Thackeray are often named together, though no two authors ever stood, farther apart, we cannot

resist the temptation to record our impression of some of the leading contrasts between them. Mr. Dickens always keeps himself distinct from his characters, having his own way of speaking for himself, and endowing them with the peculiar forms of expression which belong to each. Mr. Thackeray runs by the side of his men and women with his caustic remarks and his by-play. The former has a great literary plan, which he wishes to construct or evolve. The other has some pictures on hand which he is willing to show to the spectators. One, genial and glowing from a thousand vivid experiences, is perpetually surprising us with some delicate touch of common feeling, which opens the covered recesses of the past, and thrills the very soul. The other, with slow sympathies, but intent on the business before him, — like a hitter engaged at a bout with single-stick, or like a gazer after something ridiculous from his club-house windows, — almost hides from us that there is such a thing as soul in man. One, full of natural affections, the tenderest, widest, and most various, seeks in the wretched aspects of our race and world something to pity rather than to scorn. Believing, with Shakespeare's Fifth Harry, that

"There is some soul of goodness in things evil,
Would men observingly distil it out,"

he addresses himself with an earnest heart to that wise and benevolent chemistry. The other picks open the fairest show of things to discover the ugliness within; and, professing to be an analyzer, would fain demonstrate some lurking elements of bitterness and pollution in the brightest waters. One, picturesque and impassioned, carries us away as much with his many-sided suggestions as with his affecting story, so that we pause every little while for fear of losing something, and often cannot read aloud without a tightening of the throat, or read in silence without a throbbing breast and a moistened eye. The other, coldly sarcastic or dismally jovial, has no more poetry, no more elevation or beauty in what accompanies his pieces, than there is in the subjects of them. One has an eye for all that is lovely and grand in nature, for all that is common and uncommon in the most familiar objects, and for all those subtle connections which they mysteriously hold with the thoughts and affections and lives of men. The other looks but at the downright thing before him, and a very mean and artificial thing it usually is. His stage has no scenery. One has enriched our literature with whole galleries of photographs that almost live upon the walls; sun-shadows of such tender beauty as little Paul and little Nell. But who cares to remember the figures which the other has dashed off by gas-light and in tobacco-smoke? Who could find any use in remembering them?

As if the public could never have enough of his "Most Respectable Family," Mr. Thackeray says at the close: "J. J.'s history, let me confidentially state, has been revealed to me also, and may be told some of these fine summer months, or Christmas evenings, when the kind reader has leisure to hear." The reader ought to have a great deal of leisure.

Poems. By CHARLES KINGSLEY, Author of "Amyas Leigh," "Hypatia," etc. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1856. 16mo. pp. 284.

THE distinguished reputation which Mr. Kingsley has already obtained entitles any new work from his pen to a careful consideration. But even if these poems had been published anonymously, they would scarcely fail to attract notice for their vigor of thought and earnestness of purpose. They have not, indeed, the highest characteristics of poetry. Mr. Kingsley's imagination is not, strictly speaking, a poetical imagination, and hence he frequently fails to sustain the level of his subject, and to give adequate poetical expression to his thoughts. Nor are his rhythms always harmonious. Yet there are many passages of rare beauty and power scattered through the volume; and it is easy to recognize in them the marks of true genius.

The longest piece in the collection is an historical drama entitled *The Saint's Tragedy*, and is drawn from the story of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary. It is introduced by an apologetic Preface by the Rev. F. D. Maurice, in which that able and ingenious writer considers at length the objections that might be urged against the propriety of a clergyman's attempting the composition of a dramatic work in strict accordance with the rules of art. Referring to the license readily granted to a clergyman to express his thoughts in other forms, he says: "The privilege of expressing his own thoughts, sufferings, sympathies, in any form of verse, is easily conceded to him; if he liked to use a dialogue instead of a monologue, for the purpose of enforcing a duty, or illustrating a doctrine, no one would find fault with him; if he produced an actual drama for the purpose of defending or denouncing a particular character, or period, or system of opinions, the compliments of one party might console him for the abuse or contempt of another. But it seems to be supposed that he is bound to keep in view one or other of these ends; while to divest himself of his own individuality that he may enter into the working of other spirits,—to lay aside the authority which pronounces one opinion, or one

habit of mind, to be right, and another wrong, that he may exhibit them in their actual strife, — to deal with questions, not in an abstract shape, but mixed up with affections, passions, relations of human creatures, — is a course which must lead him, it is thought, into a great forgetfulness of his office, and of all that is involved in it." For ourselves we do not feel the weight of this objection. We can perceive no objection on this ground to the form of Mr. Kingsley's work which would not equally foreclose the splendid career that apparently awaits him as a writer of prose fiction. But we have quoted the passage as indicating the restraint imposed by a false theory upon such strong and clear thinkers as Maurice and Kingsley.

The work thus introduced and defended is a production of very great merit. As a picture of certain phases of life in the Middle Ages, and as a sketch of the personal history and character of the heroine, we believe its entire accuracy must be admitted. And in its whole structure we have abundant evidence of Mr. Kingsley's ripe culture and varied learning, and of that singular earnestness of purpose and that enthusiastic love of his subject which have colored all his previous works. The subject has evidently been studied with conscientious fidelity, and under the various aspects which it must necessarily present to a thoughtful and candid student of history. The incidents have been selected and arranged with excellent judgment; and the few departures from the actual chronology heighten the artistic effect of the story without impairing its value as an historical study. The characters are conceived with a clear insight of the conflicting elements of human nature, and are drawn with great firmness of touch. The characters of Elizabeth, of Lewis, and of Count Walter, in particular, are striking illustrations of our author's dramatic power. The character of Conrad is not an attractive one, but it is drawn with the same discriminating skill and fidelity to nature which we notice in the more pleasing characters just mentioned. The diction is in general clear and dignified, and the songs with which the drama is interspersed are superior, we think, to the minor poems printed at the end of the volume.

Many of these miscellaneous poems and ballads, however, are spirited productions. They breathe the same fiery energy which marks the stirring lyrics of Whittier, and many of them must be familiar to all of our readers. But they fail to impress us with the same sense of power as Mr. Kingsley's prose works. They are less natural in expression, and many of them exhibit a want of artistic finish. The most striking are those which refer directly to the political and social questions of the last ten or fifteen years. It is to his interest in these subjects that we owe the best of our author's productions, both in prose and in verse.

Sinai and Palestine, in Connection with their History. By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, M. A., Canon of Canterbury. With Maps and Plates. London: John Murray. 1856. 8vo. pp. 591.

ANYTHING which comes from Arthur Stanley is sure to be good. He has been proved in biography, in history, in biblical criticism, and now we meet him as a gleaner in the well-reaped field of Palestine tradition. And he is a most successful gleaner. Excellent as are his other books,—his *Lives of Dr. Arnold* and of Bishop Stanley, his *Memorials of Canterbury*, and his *Commentary on the Corinthian Epistles*,—this book on Sinai and Palestine is the best. Its plan, its execution, and its spirit are alike admirable. Its investigations are as acute and accurate as they are broad and impartial. The purpose of the volume, as stated in the Preface, and most rigidly adhered to throughout, is to show how the geography of the Holy Land illustrates the histories of the Bible, Christian and Jewish. The narrative of Mr. Stanley's own travels in the East, though it goes on with the progress of the inquiry, is always subordinate,—is only a graceful aid to the more important treatise. All needless personal details are left aside, and we are saved from those delectable pictures of imposition, torment, and disaster, alternating with marvellous experiences and providential deliverances, which enter so largely into the stories of Eastern tourists.

Mr. Stanley does not claim to be original in his views, or to owe much to his own conjectures. He has preferred more wisely to use the observations of travellers whose candor and truthfulness have been fully established. His facts are those of Robinson, Burckhardt, Lynch, Thompson, and others, who have written at length and scientifically on the subject which he treats. But he has arranged, classified, and reasoned, from these facts, in such a way that his work may be fairly called original. And his own observation and scrutiny have carefully verified the facts which he uses. He takes nothing of importance on trust, and tells of very little which he has not seen or studied out. In this respect his volume is a model of praiseworthy self-denial.

We can only briefly state the plan of the volume, which will deserve an extended review. After the striking Preface, which gives the key not merely to the purpose, but to the critical and ethical judgments of the work, we have an Introduction of some thirty pages, of which the "relation of Egypt to Israel" is the theme. Then comes an elaborate chapter on the Peninsula of Sinai, as picturesque in its descriptions as it is close in its argument. Eleven chapters follow, on Palestine, Judæa and Jerusalem, The Heights and Passes of Benjamin, Ephraim, The Mari-

time Plain, The Jordan and the Dead Sea, Perea and the Trans-Jordanic Tribes, Plain of Esdraelon, Galilee, Lake of Merom and Sources of the Jordan, Lebanon and Damascus; with two supplementary chapters, one on the Gospel History and Teaching viewed in Connection with the Localities of Palestine, and the other on "The Holy Places." An Appendix contains a most complete, useful, and carefully prepared Vocabulary and Concordance of Hebrew Topographical Words. The Maps, of which there are seven, are ingeniously colored to represent the real hue of the regions marked upon them. The notes and references are all that could be desired, leaving nothing unexplained which needs explanation. The typographical execution is in the best style of John Murray.

On almost every page there is some striking remark to be noted and remembered. And where so many beautiful passages might be quoted, it is hardly fair to cite any mistakes of the small number which can be detected. But lest we should seem to err by over-praising, we will mention the most important mistakes that we have noticed. On page 14, Mr. Stanley says that the sound of "the church-going bell" is unknown in the East. This is true in Egypt and in Judæa, but not in Northern Syria. Every morning the air of the Lebanon is flooded with the music of innumerable bells, calling the people to prayer. On page 68, he speaks of the *sand-storm* as "peculiar" to the Red Sea Desert. It is, on the contrary, experienced at Jerusalem and Palmyra, and very often on the Mediterranean Desert. On page 149, he speaks of the caves of Palestine as "not stalactitic." This may be true of the smaller caves, but is not so of the larger. His configuration of Jerusalem, on page 58, is singularly incorrect. We are at a loss to understand how such a strange distortion came to be given to its shape. On page 171, he calls deep ravines like those around Jerusalem a "rare feature in the scenery of the Holy Land," a remark with which we can by no means agree. On page 184, he omits the pomegranate from the trees which grow in the neighborhood of Jerusalem. On page 253, he speaks of the "cooings" of the "Sacred Doves" as still heard in the ruins of Ascalon. He was more fortunate in hearing them than most travellers have been. On page 277, "3,000" should be 3,700, and on the map of the frontispiece, "652" should be 352. A few such trifling errors as these are the only defects in a book as nearly perfect in its kind as any that we have ever seen. We trust that the enterprise of some American publisher will bring it within the reach of American readers.

The Prince of the House of David, or Three Years in the Holy City. Being a Series of Letters of Adina, a Jewess of Alexandria, sojourning in Jerusalem in the Days of Herod, addressed to her Father, a wealthy Jew in Egypt, and relating, as by an Eyewitness, all the Scenes and Wonderful Incidents in the Life of Jesus of Nazareth, from his Baptism in Jordan to his Crucifixion on Calvary. Edited by the REV. PROFESSOR J. H. INGRAHAM, Rector of St. John's Church, Mobile. Sixth Thousand. Revised and corrected by the Author. New York : Dana & Co. 1856. 12mo. pp. 454.

In the Middle Age, the profligate aristocracy of Europe were wont to wipe out their vices and crimes by joining the Church, and manifesting in her service an exemplary zeal. The author of the volume before us has heretofore been notorious as a novelist of the "feeble-forcible" school, an American imitator of Mr. Harrison Ainsworth, a writer of flashy and piratical romances. He seems now to have taken to religion, and to have turned his peculiar gifts to a pious use. And the first fruit thereof is indeed most precious and edifying ! Bad as all his books have been, he has produced nothing so thoroughly detestable as this religious novel. Words are not adequate to describe such a tissue of ignorance, falsehood, folly, and profanity. Irreverence and recklessness were never more wickedly employed than in compiling these letters of a Jewish maiden, — letters which have not one mark of verisimilitude, and which no such person could ever have written. We are reluctant to stain our pages by any notice of such a production. But we are afraid that its elegant exterior, its taking title, and the showy advertisements which have announced it, may deceive many into buying it, and that it may get into our Sunday-school libraries, unless a timely warning is given. We state, then, that this "Prince of the House of David" is nothing more nor less than a monstrous perversion of the life of the Saviour, of its scenes, its facts, and its spirit. It is false to the Scripture record, to the spirit of the time, and to the geography of the country. It is a daring mutilation, alteration, and enlargement of the New Testament account, worse even than the Apocryphal Gospels. The machinery of romance — *love* and *fighting* — is most liberally brought in to help out the tameness of the Evangelical narratives. John the Evangelist is *engaged* to one of the Marys, and Mary the sister of Lazarus is kidnapped and seduced by one of Pilate's officers. We have an account of the combat between Barabbas, a Bedouin Sheikh, and the Roman Centurion, a lover of Miss Adina, whose charms evidently help on his conversion. Lazarus, too, has a love affair, and also "Samuel," the son of "the widow of Nain."

The deaths and resurrections of these parties are elaborately described. "Samuel" dies of the plague, Lazarus of "hemorrhage of the lungs," brought on by overwork in copying for the priests of the temple. Mary's laudable occupation is in embroidering foot-cushions for Pilate's young wife.

We have not only the names and lineage of the New Testament characters told to us, but also minute descriptions of the personal appearance of most of them,—their hair, eyes, features, beards, dress, stature, condition in the world, and the like,—descriptions which are often inconsistent in different parts of the book. At one time Peter is "short," at another he is "tall." Judas here is well proportioned, and there is "fleshy." Jesus has at one time *dark*, at another time *brown*, and at another time *auburn*, hair. The accounts of the various miracles are transposed and embellished in the most extraordinary manner; place, time, and circumstance are alike disregarded. Even the old "miracle plays" of Germany made no more ludicrous misuse of the narrative than this American priest and romancer. Words are put into the mouth of Jesus, and into the mouth of John the Baptist, which are wholly unlike anything that they ever uttered. There is not a single character drawn as the Scripture draws it. Pilate and Judas Iscariot and Barabbas are more in Mr. Ingraham's line than saints or holy women, but he does the first as badly as the last. In spite of the sanctimonious dedication, the book can be regarded as no better than a weak burlesque of the Christian story, shocking to the sensibilities of every devout reader. Even in the most trifling matters, vulgar associations are forced in. For instance, at the trial of Christ before Caiaphas, the cock crows on the wrist of one of the witnesses, and has "steel gaffs on his spurs," just as he has come from a Jerusalem cockpit. The "three Magi," whose names are all given, are represented as descendents of the sons of Noah, one from Shem, another from Ham, and the third from Japhet; and they together indicate the subjection of the whole world to Jesus.

Apart from this deliberate perversion of the Scripture history, examples of which occur on almost every one of the 450 pages, the *blunders* of the book are amazing. Think of a letter-writer of the time of Jesus talking about the "Bazaar" and the "Jaffa gate,"—saying that "the Desert" comes "within two miles" of Jerusalem; that the Dead Sea and the "silver thread of the Jordan" were "seen for hours," in journeying from *Gaza to Jerusalem*; that Bethlehem is seen from the Mount of Olives, and that the hill of the Temple is seen from Bethany,—that, in going from Jerusalem to Nazareth, you go over Mount Tabor and by the Sea of Galilee,—telling of the magnificent brilliancy of the morning sun on the arch over the door of the Holy of Holies,

— mentioning that Jericho is a “mile and a half” from the Jordan; — but why need we catalogue more of such stuff? We can only say, that while we hold all romances of biblical history, however well executed and faithful to the spirit of the time and the statements of the record, to be of doubtful benefit, we hold such books as this to be in the last degree pernicious, — far worse than any new translation or any rationalistic criticism of the Scriptures can possibly be. It is a book of which any Christian Church should be ashamed; which any Christian Church ought to repudiate.

Aspen Court. A Story of our Own Time. By SHIRLEY BROOKS.
New York: Stringer and Townsend. 1856. 12mo. pp. 504.

A WEIGHTY note prefixed to this volume by the American publishers informs the public of Mr. Henry William Herbert's opinion, that it is the *best* English novel of society, high and low, that he ever read. He adds that, “it has all the wit and knowledge of low life of Dickens, without his caricature or favoritism of classes. It has all Thackeray's acquaintance with the foibles of high life, without his sordid degradation of humanity.” Who Shirley Brooks is neither the publisher nor Mr. Herbert give us any hint. We doubt if the popular verdict will sustain Mr. Herbert's opinion. The book may be better described as a poor imitation of the mannerisms both of Thackeray and Dickens, without the peculiar power of either of those writers; in fact, without original power of any kind. Its satire is feeble, its descriptions are tedious, and its “wit” is nothing but slang. It aims evidently to do what Bulwer has done in his more recent novels, but in its representation of “the varieties of English life,” it compares with those novels as “*Moredun*” compares with the genuine romances of Scott. It can be characterized only as an ambitious failure, containing no character thoroughly drawn, no scene graphically delineated, — and showing skill only in the complication, but not in the development, of its plot. Yet there is sufficient variety of costume, profession, and adventure, and sufficient sprightliness of style, to make it interesting, in spite of the essential defect of force and consistency in its characters. It is not a dull, though it is a most unsatisfactory and unreliable book. The change of figures is pleasant to look at, though, after all, it is only a kaleidoscope show, and one goes on from chapter to chapter, with a sort of hope that something fine is coming, by and by. But the fine thing never comes.

And any single chapter of "Vanity Fair," or the "Pickwick Club," or "My Novel," has in it more of real wit and wisdom and power than the whole of these five hundred pages. It will need all the perseverance of puffing to achieve for the volume the "success" which Mr. Herbert predicts.

Dreams and Realities in the Life of a Pastor and Teacher. By the Author of "Rolling Ridge," "The Parish Side," etc. New York, Boston, and Cincinnati. 1856. 12mo. pp. 439.

Ohe jam satis! The public have had quite enough of the experiences and trials and calamities of pastors and pastors' wives. The interest of that species of literature is exhausted. The demonstrations of clerical morbid anatomy never were very instructive or very dignified, and have now become exceedingly tedious. We shrink from the duty of examining a book when its title hints that we are to be treated to a new feast of pastoral miseries and misfortunes. The volume before us has not in that direction realized our fears, but is quite as objectionable in another direction. It is rather of the gossiping than the whining class, and, like Miranda, prattles "something too wildly." The slight eccentricity of form does not enliven much the prevailing heaviness of the story, nor do the personal allusions succeed in provoking curiosity to identify the characters in the book with real men and women.

The substance of these "Dreams and Realities" may be stated as follows: The Rev. Ubert Castlereagh, in a fit of inspired benevolence, thinks that he is not doing enough in his small country parish, and resolves to open a school, and be an educator as well as a pastor. The result is the "Lindenvale Institute." This establishment seems to have been somewhere in Connecticut. Thirty-four chapters describe its fortunes, the boys and girls, the teachers, male and female, the studies, the exhibitions, the excursions, the vacations, and the catastrophes incident to such an establishment. Pastoral life is a side issue, and furnishes a few episodes of association meetings, theological discussions, and edifying deaths. Other matters—the "Norwalk tragedy," for instance—are brought in to vary the tale. We cannot discover in the account of the "Lindenvale Institute," or of Mr. Castlereagh's fortunes and notes therein, any reason for publishing it to the world. The circumstances are not peculiar enough to be in themselves interesting, and the characters, whether of pupils or teachers, are not remarkable in the drawing, whatever they may have been in the reality. Those who

have had children in the school ought to buy a copy of the book, and perhaps the friends of Castlereagh may be interested to see exactly how he lost his health, his money, and his hope. But we trust that a much-enduring public may now be spared, for one year at least, from the infliction of a book of pastoral confessions.

A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States, with Remarks on their Economy. By FREDERICK LAW OL MSTED, Author of "Walks and Talks of an American Farmer in England." New York: Dix and Edwards. 1856. 12mo. pp. 723.

THIS book, a sensible and instructive one on an exciting subject, about which we have more noise than knowledge, is the result of two visits made to the South. The author informs us, in an advertisement, that of the first journey made in 1853, he "gave an account of his observations in the New York Daily Times." A second and longer visit to the South enabled him to revise those letters by the light of additional observations. The volume before us has grown out of the materials thus collected. We like the book, and hope it will be widely circulated and read. It belongs to a class of works on slavery, of which we have hitherto had too few,—almost none in fact. Rabid declamation, fanciful caricature, "conscientious contentiousness," pedantic abstractions, have formed the ordinary pabulum upon which the Northern mind has been fed.

The subject of slavery is a large one, and obviously admits of many divisions. There are three prominent branches of inquiry in which the public mind is likely to be increasingly interested: 1. The rightfulness of slavery, and its character, as a condition and an institution. 2. The practical working of the system, in an economical point of view. 3. The remedy for slavery, as it exists among us, allowing it to be an evil.

Most of the discussions which the subject has given rise to in our community have been confined to the first of the divisions we have named. And it is not difficult to understand why this must have the greater attractions of the three. There is a strong temptation to hazard opinions on any subject, especially if those opinions happen to coincide with forejudged conclusions of the popular mind. In abstractions and generalizations, whether political or moral, there is no fear before the eyes of the theorist of any appeal being made to facts and outward data, and of his being shown to be in the wrong by any such summary and conclusive method.

We do not mean to intimate that the question of the character, moral or political, of slavery has been more regarded than it merits, or that it is unnecessary to discuss this question further, on the ground that there is no difference of opinion on this point at the North. We are apprehensive that there is less uniformity of opinion among us on this subject than there once was; that there has been, of late years, a gradually increasing number of minds that formerly viewed slavery as an unqualified evil in its bearings upon both master and slave, and that have learned to admit doubts as to the correctness of their previous judgments; that have been obliged to concede something in mitigation of sentence, if not in favor of the institution; minds, in short, that are surprised at finding themselves wavering where they once were fixed. We ascribe this curious change in Northern sentiment, which is still going on, partly at least to the extravagant, positive, denunciatory tone of Abolition logic and literature. And we shall not, therefore, be very much surprised if it should be found necessary, even in New England, to construct a new argument to prove the absolute wrong of slavery. And for this reason all large, candid discussions of this point seem to us just as timely and needful now as in any past period.

Mr. Olmsted, however, does not discuss this question. He confines himself very much, if not exclusively, to the second method of treatment which we have indicated, and presents the results of his observations, to illustrate the practical working of slavery, as an organized system of involuntary labor. Nor does our author grapple with the third inquiry,—the Remedy for Slavery. The most courageous combatants in the antislavery field are very shy of this part of the subject, as they or any one may well be. It is not inviting in its aspect, nor does it promise an easy solution of the difficulty. Most of the Abolitionists, with more wisdom than honesty, shirk the whole question, and keep pounding with the hammer of agitation upon a single point, the sin of slavery, until the public mind has become benumbed by the united blows and clatter. The antislavery politician does not, of course, concern himself with this side of the subject. All he proposes or attempts is, to carry a measure, or to defeat a counter measure, into which slavery enters as an element, and by such means to acquire power, or to dispossess the present holders of power. It is certain that the question of remedy will have to be considered, whenever we are prepared to do anything effectual towards the removal of slavery. To affirm that simple emancipation is the remedy, will not be as likely to satisfy the intelligence or the conscience of the community as it might once have done. Not unlikely it may be discovered that

to loose the bonds of a slave and suffer him to go free is not, under all circumstances, sufficient to absolve any right-thinking Christian man, who may be morally implicated in the wrong done by slavery. Possibly it may be found out that, in certain cases, manumission would be cruelty, and that duty to the bondman is by no means to be discharged by pronouncing him free. It may come to be acknowledged that this, in many instances, is only what sheer selfishness, sharpened even to inhumanity by the close calculations for which such observers as Mr. Olmsted furnish the data, would dictate.

But for a thorough scrutiny of this momentous matter the mind of the nation has not yet shown itself to be prepared, and our author, we repeat, does not touch it. He confines himself to the second method of treatment already adverted to. He appears to be an accurate observer of that large class of important facts which is reducible to figures, and which can be summed up and set forth in tabular statements. He is a practical agriculturist himself, and gives us the means of comparing, with him, free labor as applied to agriculture, and the involuntary labor of the slave. This surely is one important direction in which to extend investigation. There is a vast mass of ignorance on this branch of the main subject, both at the North and at the South, that needs to be enlightened. And this is an office which agitation, however persistent and conscientious, cannot fulfil. All the *backbone* that the most stubborn virtue can furnish will not suffice, without some considerable amount of brain at the top of the vertebral column.

The Principles of Political Economy applied to the Condition, the Resources, and the Institutions of the American People.
By FRANCIS BOWEN, Alford Professor of Moral Philosophy and Civil Polity in Harvard College. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1856. 8vo. pp. 546.

AN interesting text-book is the prime condition for engaging the students in our higher seminaries in those departments of knowledge which involve theory and statistical deductions, though manufactured from facts of experience. For many years the greatest want which has been felt in our colleges was that of a text-book for the study of Political Economy. We know of no one so well furnished with all the qualifications for preparing such a volume as is Professor Bowen. In scholarly attainments, practical good sense, fair balance of mind, freedom from hobbies, and clearness of perception, he is eminently distinguished, and he has

besides such an excellent style of composition with such a gift at making himself understood, that his pages are attractive in themselves, whatever their topic. To crown all, he has learned in his academic duties precisely what is desired in the help and contents of a manual, and through the deficiencies or faults of poor books has received experimental wisdom for the preparation of such a one as is needed. We will not undertake to criticise the solid volume now before us. We have turned over its pages with the sole view of asking ourselves whether it looks attractive enough and intelligible enough to make what young men are apt to regard as a peculiarly dry theme more level to their interest and understanding. We can say only that we think we should now know more about the science if we had studied it in this book. Of course there must be theory in this science, and some of the most perplexing questions which it raises concern the limitations of that theory by facts which arrest its application everywhere, while even theory itself must give way, or one theory must be substituted for another, under the variations of climate, country, government, and social institutions. There is still much debatable ground in the science. On some incidental points there has been an entire revolution in practice which has compelled a change in theory. The merest glance over the crowded and interesting contents of the volume before us will show what a mass of subjects, all indissolubly wrought in with the social fabric, must be discussed, and how wide and full a culture is needed to make even a wise man competent to discuss the great theme. The volume labors to fix those principles of the science which are of universal application, and then to deal fairly with all questionable or erroneous notions which still connect themselves with the science through the authority of former theorists or the mistakes of recent writers, as established fallacies of practice. The book is especially to be valued on this continent, because it is the first work on the science which has recognized, according to their relative importance, what may properly be called the distinctively American principles of Political Economy. While the rivalries of national pride and interest are raising issues which skilful diplomacy seeks peacefully to dispose, or cunning ambition tries to turn to the help of its electioneering processes, the rise and growth of this republic have presented some new elements of political and economical science which compel the statesman and the theorist alike to look here for some of his newest and his wisest lessons. Professor Bowen has elaborated his pages with a direct view to the development of the sound principles which apply among ourselves. Thus his volume, while admirably adapted to its primary design as a college text-book, will be of great value to

merchants, manufacturers, and that army of young and middle aged men among us whose interest and whose responsibilities commit them to the development and the security of the means of wealth.

The Rod and the Staff. By THOMAS T. STONE. Boston : American Unitarian Association. 1856. 16mo. pp. 398.

THIS is the third volume in that one of the several series of works in course of publication by the American Unitarian Association which bears the title of the "Devotional Library." We heartily commend that classification of the works to be published from the Book-Fund, under which this edifying volume offers itself to a religious use distinct from any sectarian aim. It is written in a sweet and earnest spirit, which must commend it to all who seek to nourish the life of Christian piety in their hearts. Its contents are disposed under three general divisions, as follows: The Soul and its Comfort; The Social Affections and the Heavenly Love; and The Spiritual Deep. The first of these divisions treats of the emotional experiences which make the history of each soul under the vicissitudes of life, especially as such experiences present pleasing or painful contrasts. The second extends these personal experiences into the relations of life, to kindred, family, friends, neighborhood, country, and the Church. The third pursues the higher wisdom of life into the region of Christian convictions, conflicts, and aspirations.

The style and tone of these devotional pieces are eminently suited to the purpose of the writer, while they convey to us yet another token of the strength and reality of his own Christian faith. Devotional treatises have an appropriate language and method of their own, and all such works as have won the love and confidence of Christian readers will be found to have a closer resemblance, a more delicate harmony of spirit, and even of counsel, than can be found in any other class of writings. A peculiar combination of the hortatory and the argumentative will be noticed as the characteristic of such treatises. Gentleness and tenderness, earnestness and persistency, with an occasional boldness of rebuke and remonstrance, and a confidence in the truth which would allow of any degree of positiveness in stating it, are the necessary qualifications for a successful dealing with devotional and spiritual themes. Good taste and good sense, with refinement of feeling and prudent reserve, where forbidden limits have been reached, are indispensable conditions in a work addressed to cultivated minds, though the lack of one or more of

these qualities has not wholly deprived some very imperfect works of their ministry of edification. Mr. Stone's volume never offends by slighting any of these finer conditions, and it is richly furnished with all the qualities which commend a devotional essay to heart, mind, and spirit.

The Hillside Church ; or Reminiscences of a Country Pastorate.

By JOHN W. CHICKERING, D.D., Pastor of High Street Church, Portland, Maine. Boston : S. K. Whipple & Co. Portland : Sanborn and Carter. 1856. 16mo.

THE inhabitants of central Massachusetts, and travellers on the old stage route from Boston to Fitchburg, are familiar with the locality of "The Samson Wilder Meeting-House." The book whose title is given above is a pious improvement of a five years' pastorate at that remarkable institution. If a history of "that" what Dr. Chickering calls "singularly bold and startling enterprise" must be written, there are three methods in which it might be done. First, by writing a veritable history, a record of facts. Second, by treating the subject on general principles, and gathering whatever lessons of practical wisdom might be drawn from it to illustrate or strengthen religious institutions. Third, by selecting those things which were agreeable to the writer's feelings, or which illustrated his point of view and general style of thought more than they illustrated the subject. The objection to the first method would be, that it would lead the writer into a recital of personal scandal and neighborhood animosities which would be loathsome to write and disgraceful to print, beside exposing him to have a suit for libel hanging over him for the rest of his days. A veritable history of "The Samson Wilder Meeting-House" is unworthy of being written, and he who should undertake it would be guilty of an offence against good taste and good feeling. The objection to the second method would be that the residuum of wisdom gained would not pay for the analysis. The last resort, therefore, would be to record such a part of the truth as was most agreeable to the writer's inclinations, and give it an odor of truth by its association with religion. This last course Dr. Chickering has adopted, and it seems appropriate to his tastes and general build of mind. The book is feeble beyond expression, and written in good temper. The writer yields himself so amiably to his side of the subject, that he reminds us of the clever and easy California judge whom Squibob tells of, — he never liked to hear more than one side of a question, because it confused his

mind. And the pastor of the Hillside Church, with equal simplicity and honesty, avers that he writes "the truth, and nothing but the truth, if not in all cases, from motives of delicacy, the whole truth." What part of the truth "motives of delicacy" cover we are not informed, but we have no thought that the writer has put down aught in malice, or kept anything back from fear or favor. He has simply yielded to his inclinations.

The first thirty or forty pages of the book are devoted to an account of "building the old wastes," which means introducing "the worship of Jehovah, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," into the towns of Lancaster, Bolton, Sterling, and Stow. The wastes were spiritual. The dying out of *Evangelical* faith had left one of the oldest and most intelligent communities in New England at that period to a great extent a spiritual desolation. This afforded a sorrowful contrast to the natural beauty of the landscape from Bolton Hill. There is a tradition that the pious mind of the projector of this enterprise was greatly pained by the sudden transition from the glory of the landscape to the misery and degradation of man. On being congratulated by a friend upon the beauty of his location, tradition says that he responded, "Yes, I have a fine situation, but from it I look abroad upon the dwellings of six thousand ruined souls." Painful indeed must have been the emotions of the young and enthusiastic pastor, "fresh from halls of learning," as he looked abroad from this beautiful eminence over the sweeping meadows and quiet pastures of the Nashua,

"Where every prospect pleases,
And only man is vile."

The author's description of the locality and its surroundings betrays rather a flower-garden faculty than poetic insight and power. Indeed, if an action could be brought for damage done to a landscape in poetic description, we think the author might be made to suffer.

But the moral and spiritual desolation must have most engaged his mind. That desolation included in its mighty sweep the nearly fifty years' ministrations of the venerable Dr. Thayer, and the eccentric, honest, practical "Father Allen." Mr. Chickering, in riding to a third service on Sunday, saw men pitching hay on seven different farms. Only seven families in one town were known to offer prayer at their own firesides. Church discipline had fallen into neglect, and was so slow in its operation that one man anticipated it, and excommunicated the Church. And all this for the want of "great gospel truths." To a man who had those "truths," this must have been an inviting field.

The projector of the "enterprise" had long felt the necessity of restoring "the ancient faith." He had returned from a for-

eign land a zealous convert to Calvinism. Finding no satisfaction in the services of religion at his early place of worship, he resolved on "church erection." His means were abundant, and he had a benevolent disposition. The immediate impelling motive was the opinion of a minister, expressed in private conversation concerning the character and work of Christ. Mr. Chickering's account of that conversation we are disposed to believe is an instance where he has not told "the whole truth": whether from "motives of delicacy" or by mistake, we do not know. We are inclined to think, however, from mistake; and we are confirmed in our opinion by the recollection, that a few years after this he made a mistake in quoting the language of Robinson to his people at Delft Haven. Be this as it may, it was determined that a house should be built; and after pledging upon paper three thousand and three hundred dollars, the projector and his neighbor walked out by moonlight to select a site. It appears that there was some secrecy in these early movements. But the good men were greatly confirmed and strengthened in that moonlight interview. They prayed on the spot to be directed in their undertaking, and it was made plain to them where the house should stand. The prayer made so strong an impression upon the mind either of him who offered it, or of him who joined in it, that it has been preserved. We cannot copy it, but its spirit is not at all diffused, and can have little value as a guide to devotion in general. Indeed it never can be used, unless the "Samson Wilder Meeting-House" was to be repeated.

The work went on. At the "raising" some "respectable" persons who were opposed to the new church broke up a drinking booth which had been established near the spot. This act was refreshing amid that moral desolation. At length the work was completed, and in its conveniences must have been fully equal to the buildings of that day. Furnace, organ, dining accommodations, charity-boxes, and "Nicodemus seats" in the passage-ways, for those who had not courage enough to come in. On the outside was a clock "striking the hours, on a bell of about two thousand pounds weight." "This child of faith" had no infancy, but was born mature. Preaching, from men of more or less distinction, was continued for a good while previous to Mr. Chickering's settlement, and he commenced his ministry with a church of thirty-six members. The projector paid the cost, and salary was never in arrears.

We have always esteemed it a great calamity to a minister to have a particular set of men in his parish, even as his counselors; much more to have any single man his paymaster. But Mr. Chickering, in his youthful zeal, seems to have considered this an excellence. He does not appear to have dreamed that

"this child of faith," born twenty-one years old, had twenty-one years less to live on that account. Neither does he seem to have conceived that the fact of its being under guardianship was a presumption that it could not take care of itself.

The religious experiences which the author recites we have not much taste for. He has great attainments for common-places and pietistic platitudes. Reading this part of the book is like whetting a scythe with a bar of soap. It brings no edge. It consists of various accounts of extraordinary conversions, from the ranks of coarse and wicked men, and stories illustrating a very low grade of religious thought. "The Widow's Missionary Son" is a powerful display of literary weakness and bad taste. Mr. Chickering's forte is evidently not in writing, and his book has no value as a contribution to religious literature. In respect of the insinuations which run through the whole book as to the insufficiency of Unitarianism, and accounting for all the wickedness in the community by the want of "great gospel truths," it indicates a narrow mind. They do not pitch hay Sundays in New Orleans, but the train-bands are out, and horse-racing is celebrated. The "great gospel truths" have the field there. Calvinism in some shape is almost the only faith that can live in a Slave State. We have no dispute about the manner in which ill-bred men may be improved, if only they *be* improved. We think that men who pitch hay Sundays contrary to God's commandment, or pull the linchpins from their neighbors' wagons to imperil the lives of men in riding home from prayer-meeting, had better be converted; and we will have no controversy about how they are converted, but rejoice at it altogether. And men who sell rum at the erection of meeting-houses, we would have repent and be baptized, and we will not quarrel with him who counts them as the gems in his immortal crown. But when a man professes to have a religious theory of great power over the hearts of men, and attributes the vices of society to the honest opinions of his fellow-men, it savors a little of ignorance and quackery. It is time that this style of speaking and thinking should come to an end among all decent persons. The worst thing in Mr. Chickering's book is this style. It betrays a mind of small grasp, and a Jewish, proselyting disposition, entirely unequal to a high level of Christian thought. To what extent Mr. Chickering's position at Bolton Hill contributed to give his mind an early direction we cannot tell. But it must have had its due effect on him. The book bears the marks of it, and while we congratulate Mr. Chickering on his early escape from the Hillside, we regret that he has not outgrown the spirit of those days.

Mr. S. V. S. Wilder was born in Lancaster on "the dark day,"

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1780. He was educated as a merchant in a distinguished Boston house, and in about the year 1800 he went to Paris, where he remained for nearly thirty years, saving short intervals in which he visited this country. Immediately on his return to remain here, he established himself in Bolton as a man of wealth. He had always been what might be called a "ministers' man"; attentive to their wants, and fond of their society. While in Paris he took much interest in religious institutions at home. When the "Brick Church" in Lancaster was erected, he sent the drapery for the pulpit as a gift. In the days of "The Hillside Church" he was a kind-hearted, benevolent, narrow-minded, vain man. The sincerity of his religious faith cannot be questioned, neither is it to be supposed that he was greatly removed from his fellow-men by any heavenly gifts of grace. Nor were the sacrifices which he made for the truth such as to give him a place among the world's great benefactors. The church was never deeded to the society, but remained his own property, and in the days of his misfortune it went to pay his debts. His money gave him a great influence among a class of persons more common in New England then than now. There were many idle, thriftless, discouraged men. The use of intoxicating drinks was universal. Almost every farm was mortgaged at the "tavern" or the "store." This was the case everywhere. It was not confined to those places which lacked the "great gospel truths." Mr. Wilder's influence must have controlled a large number of men. He employed a great many "hands" on the farm, and lent money to many others; and while it may not be doubted that a strong religious zeal was manifested in that community, under the preaching of Beecher and Christmas, so much that some were "pricked in their hearts" and some went mad, it is no more than fair to suppose that many were under an honest pecuniary obligation to Mr. Wilder, which greatly strengthened them. Not to suppose this would be to reject all moral probabilities. And while we would not detract from the just measure of praise that may be due to the benevolent projector of the religious movement on Bolton Hill, we would object to his being voted a saint and placed on the calendar by those who were under pay. There was an extravagance and display in the enterprise, which impairs the reputation of the projector for simplicity. He was not only anxious for the truth, but there is a spirit of rivalry in man which was well turned to account. That the building was not needed there, time has abundantly shown; that there never was strength of conviction sufficient to support religious institutions there, is attested by the fact, that when Mr. Wilder ceased to pay, the people did not take it upon themselves. The building still stands, and we believe that the opinion of the com-

munity round about is the verdict of history, that it stands a monument of bigotry and folly, and that the advancement of Christian thought is removing society from its spirit, as truly as the revolving years are removing us from its times.

Five Years in Damascus: including an Account of the History, Topography, and Antiquities of that City; with Travels and Researches in Palmyra, Lebanon, and the Hauran. By REV. J. L. PORTER, F.R.S.L. London: John Murray. 1855. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 395, 372.

BESIDES the direct blessing of Christian schools, and the indirect influence of pure homes, Protestant missionaries have rendered a great service to the world by the geographical knowledge which they have diffused as well as rendered more accurate. And it is easy to see that where, as in Mr. Porter's case, a long residence has given familiarity with the native language and the most favorable introduction to the people, as well as the necessary acclimation, an intelligent, inquisitive, laborious missionary can accomplish far more than any chance traveller. The scene of investigation is near his own home; his books and charts are handy for reference; he can return for refreshment every month; he is all the while in the way of information and within the influence of incentive upon his particular subject of interest.

Rev. J. L. Porter, whom we found in 1851 commencing his work as an English missionary-student at Damascus, has given us in these carefully written and well-illustrated volumes no summer ramble or winter residence, repeating a thrice-told tale and echoing his predecessors' errors. From Damascus as a centre he has rayed out, particularly north, east, and south, into regions comparatively unknown and always perilous, unfrequented by even occasional traveller or mercantile adventurer; and has rectified all the existing maps, shown the inaccuracies of Burckhardt, the fancy sketches of Berghaus, the ingenious fictions of De Saulcy, and the arrant romancings of Buckingham. It was indeed a "pursuit of knowledge through difficulties." With all his facilities, his knowledge of the native speech and the native customs, his watchfulness and his intrepidity, his energy and his religious reputation, once at least he hardly escaped with his life,—and Palmyra brought him upon those very troubles which have deterred the majority of Oriental travellers from approaching the stately ruins of the queen city.

His narrative reminds us of Dr. Robinson's "Ecclesiastical

Researches" in its minuteness and thoroughness, its reliance upon careful measurements; we trust, too, in the certainty of its results. There is a tone of bitterness towards the Roman Catholics, and of scorn to the Greek Catholics, which are common amongst the Protestant missionaries, and a more pardonable detestation of Turkish oppressors. At a time when so many are giving a roseate hue to Turkish institutions, it is well to remember that the dearest country on earth to the universal Christian heart has been bleeding to death for centuries beneath their atrocious misgovernment. Of the vicinity of Busrah, where Mr. Porter's investigations are of the most value, he says (in chapter thirteenth): "A few years before Burckhardt visited this country there were some settled inhabitants in Sulkhad and Orman; but now they are completely deserted. Kureigeh is the nearest inhabited village. Every year, in fact, is narrowing the borders of the settled inhabitants, and unless a new system of government is ere long adopted, the *whole country east of the Jordan must be abandoned* by those who cultivate the soil. Nowhere on earth is there such a melancholy example of the fatal effects of tyranny, rapacity, and misrule. Fields, vineyards, pastures, villages, cities, alike deserted, and the few inhabitants that remain behind the barrier of rocks and mountains drag out a miserable existence, oppressed by the robbers of the desert on the one hand, and the still more formidable robbers of the government on other." Again, he declares, that "the history of Turkish rule in Syria would tend greatly to enlighten the eyes of European statesmen and citizens; and would unfold such a continued series of tyranny, extortion, and crime, as is almost unparalleled in the annals of the world." "If the sordid Pasha can wring as much from the poor peasant as will amply repay his outlay, he cares not though the soil become a desert, and the towns and villages heaps of ruins." A characteristic anecdote of Mohammed Pasha fills up this dreary picture. He had nominated a local chieftain to the southern division of Lebanon. On the officer's journey to his post, a rival met and murdered him. The mandate of the Pasha was: "No matter about the fellow's head; send me a hundred purses, and let who will be governor!"

As to Moslem learning, Mr. Porter confirms impressions which were becoming universal before this recent outburst of sympathy towards the waning crescent.

"In Damascus there is a large number of *colleges*, as some poetical travellers would designate them. These are in general large buildings, which have been founded by the piety or pride of some great man, and allowed to fall to decay and ruin by his successors. If occupied at all, it is at most by a few score of urchins squatting on the dirty ground and seesawing over a few leaves of the Koran, while they shout its verses

in unison, led by a graybeard sheikh, who sits knitting in the corner. Few of the Moslems advance beyond the first rudiments of education; yet there are some in the city who are pretty well acquainted with their own literature, and possess a considerable knowledge of the state of science in Europe."

And, in the eleventh chapter, he describes a visit from perhaps the only schoolmaster in the Hauran.

"A venerable old man, with sparkling eyes and flowing beard. His school consisted of some twenty children, and I had seen them bawling over their lessons on a house-top. He stated, in reply to my questions, that the scholars had no books; and he was obliged to teach them by writing letters and words on little boards, which they all carried about and rhymed over till the form and sound were imprinted on the mind. . . . The Protestant missionaries," he adds in chapter sixteenth, "have done more for the advancement of education within the short period of twenty years, than the combined priesthood of all Syria has done through centuries."

The results of his examination of the regions north of Damascus and east of the Lake of Tiberias are confirmatory of the Jewish Scripture, especially of its earliest books. In the thirteenth chapter he sums up his more southern investigations in these words:—

"I had now finished my tour among the hills of Bathangel, or the Jebel Hauran, and was about to turn away from them, most probably for ever. I felt glad that I had been privileged to visit a country renowned in early history, and sacred as among the first provinces bestowed by God on his ancient people. The freshness and beauty of the scenery, the extent and grandeur of many of the ruins, the hearty and repeated welcomes of the people, and, above all, the convincing testimony afforded at every step to the minute accuracy of the Holy Scriptures, filled my mind with such pleasurable feelings as I had never before experienced in travel. I had often read how God had delivered into the hands of the children of Manasseh, Og, king of Bashan, and all his people; and I had observed the statement that a portion of his territory contained *threescore cities* fenced with high walls, gates, and bars, besides unwall'd towns a great many. I had turned to my atlas, where I found the whole of Bashan delineated, and not larger than an ordinary English county. I was surprised. That one city, nurtured by the commerce of a mighty empire might grow till her people could be numbered by millions, I could well believe; that two, or even three, might spring up in favored spots, clustered together, I could also believe. But that *sixty walled cities*, besides unwall'd towns a great many, should be found at such a remote age far from the sea, with no rivers and little commerce, appeared quite inexplicable. Inexplicable and mysterious though it appeared, it was strictly true. On the spot with my own eyes I had now verified it. Lists of *more than a hundred* ruined cities and villages in these mountains alone, I had tested and found correct, though not complete. More than thirty of these I had myself either visited or observed, so as to fix their positions on the map. Of the high antiquity of these ruins scarce a doubt can be entertained,

and the extent of the more important of them has already been estimated. Here, then, we have a venerable record more than three thousand years old, containing incidental statements and statistics which few would be inclined to receive on trust, and not a few to cast aside as glaring absurdities, yet which *close examination shows to be minutely accurate.*" — Vol. II. p. 206.

The Roman Exile. By GUGLIELMO GAJANI. Boston : J. P. Jewett & Co. 1856. 12mo. pp. 450.

A MOST warm and sincere esteem, founded on personal acquaintance with the author of this volume, and from hearing portions of his personal experience from his own lips, prepared us to peruse his pages with high-raised expectations and with pre-engaged sympathy. But it needs no additional feeling beyond what the volume itself will excite to fix upon it the profoundest interest of the reader. Professor Gajani, a gentleman of the highest refinement, and the most liberal culture, a graduate of the University of Bologna, and Doctor of the Civil and Canon Law, rehearses to us in the most engaging way the story of his early life, of his alienation even in childhood from the corrupt and oppressive system under which he was educated, and of the secret conflicts and processes by which his heart was trained to the ardent love of truth and liberty. The righteous cause to which he devoted himself leads him to present to us with all the simplicity and ardor of a true-hearted man, a brief relation of the arts of spiritual and political tyranny, and of the counter methods by which the patriotism of a moderate and Christian league among those who were most sensitive to oppression aimed to resist its sway. His narrative will be sure to win the respect and confidence of the reader. Not among the least Jesuitical of the means to which recourse has been had in order to prejudice the Italian movement, has been the attempt to array it to Englishmen and Americans in the guise of an atheistic and reckless enterprise. Professor Gajani treats that foul scandal as it deserves, and he makes us profoundly interested in the pure and noble spirits who have directed the movement and insisted upon keeping it loftily above all just imputations of impiety or passion. There has been a practice of forbearance, patience, prudence, disinterestedness, gentleness, and heroism in that movement, which by and by will produce a result most effective to securing a final, though it be a deferred triumph. So touchingly and skilfully has our author written his narrative, that we gather from it more hope for Italy than we cherished when the actual realization of

a shortlived republic in Rome seemed to have shone brightly upon its patriots. The author was a representative of the Roman people in their Constituent Assembly in 1849, and served as an officer in Rome during the siege by the French. He is the exile of his own book, and we assure our readers that the press does not often produce a work more worthy of their interest, or more sure to engage it.

Contributions to Literature ; Descriptive, Critical, Humorous, Biographical, Philosophical, and Poetical. By SAMUEL GILMAN, D. D. Boston : Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1856. 12mo. pp. 564.

THOUGH we may suppose most of our readers to be acquainted with some portions of the contents of this volume, — especially with that rich piece of humorous and wise narrative, the “Memoirs of a New England Village Choir,” and that gem of portraiture, “Rev. Stephen Peabody and Lady,” — we may still commend these “Contributions” in their collected form to all who can appreciate alike the profounder and the lighter wealth of one of our most distinguished writers. Dr. Gilman can hardly be served by any encomium of ours upon the way in which he has filled life’s high demands of service either in his sacred calling or in the exercise of his intellectual gifts. His pages bear with them their own sufficient claim to the respect and gratitude of his readers. His thoughtful and mature wisdom, his moderation of judgment, his singleness and sincerity of spirit, give a charm to his pages which makes even the most abstract matter intelligible and pleasing. We hope that he will yet fulfil his long-cherished purpose of writing the History of a New England Singing-School. For while we accept gratefully Dr. Gilman’s philosophical and ethical pieces, as collected in this volume, we must express our belief that he has in him a vein of rich and winning humor of the most refined and delicate character, which would be sure to gleam over a record of the reminiscences of youth connected with a New England Singing-School.

At Home and Abroad, or Things and Thoughts in America and Europe. By MARGARET FULLER OSSOLI. Edited by her Brother, ARTHUR B. FULLER. Boston : Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1856. 12mo. pp. 466.

THE letters which Madame Ossoli communicated to the New York Tribune, while as a resident in Rome she studied so ear-

nestly the workings of the late patriotic movement in Italy, — still hopeful of sure triumph, though under a temporary depression, — will always be of great value. Her vigorous intellect, and her ardent sympathy in every cause of freedom, combined to make the Roman movement one of most intense interest to her. She watched it day by day with the zeal and self-absorption of personal patriotism when it is of the most exalted and unselfish character. She hardly needed the close identification of her fate with the lot of one of the devoted band on the side of freedom to secure to it the hope and toil of her own life. It is therefore but a debt due to her memory, as well as a good service to one of the best departments of our literature, that her Letters should be gathered together from the columns of a newspaper and be fairly presented in a volume. This portion of the work now in our hands will impart authentic information to its readers, and touch their hearts with many gentle and many ennobling emotions. The editor has done an excellent service in carefully arranging the letters for republication. He has also revised and republished his sister's *Journal of a Summer Tour to our Western Lakes*, and has added some brief memorials of the distinguished writer. The whole volume is a memorial of one whose lofty ideal of life was consecrated by a tragic close.

Appleton's Cyclopædia of Biography: embracing a Series of Original Memoirs of the most distinguished Persons of all Times, written for this Work. American Edition, edited by FRANCIS L. HAWKS, D. D., LL. D. With numerous Illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1856. Royal 8vo. pp. 1058.

ALLOWING for the unavoidable limitations to which the execution of so comprehensive a plan as that expressed in the above title must be subject, this work may be regarded as signally successful. The English publisher had taken the first essential step towards any adequate working out of the plan of a Biographical Cyclopædia by giving over the preposterous idea that it could be accomplished by any one writer, however learned or versatile he might be. He therefore engaged a corps of eminent writers in various departments, as well as others who took up the pen for the special purpose of recording facts and dates in the lives of all sorts of characters who might claim a record of themselves. In this way all partialities of sect, party, class, profession, taste, fancy, and opinion, are avoided. Any inconvenience which one who would keep this volume by him for constant reference may experience from the brevity of some of the

memorials or the absence of some names for which he may consult it, is amply compensated by the advantage of having so much material within one pair of covers. Dr. Hawks has doubled the value of the original work for American readers by inserting names of our own countrymen. This he has done beyond our desire to decide an exact numeration by actual counting, though he assures us that he has procured or furnished memorials of thousands of Americans. The illustrations, of course, are of various excellence. A few of them are worthless; as, for instance, the portraits of John Quincy Adams and Fisher Ames. Those which present to us antique or modern dwelling-places, monuments, and relics, are generally very good.

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Messrs. LITTLE, BROWN, & Co. have added three more volumes to their series of the *British Essayists*, in presenting to us now the papers collected under the title of "*The Guardian*." As the promised series thus steadily multiplies the number of its volumes, it approves the enterprise of its projectors, and strengthens its claim for generous patronage. Admirably adapted for just such a use as will draw most improvement even from desultory reading, these volumes are peculiarly fitted for a place in a family sitting-room. The *British Essayists* undoubtedly stand before any other series of books in our language, in those qualities which adapt books for both amusing and improving a fraction of time.

Mr. John Bartlett, of Cambridge, has published a revised and enlarged edition of the "*Collection of College Words and Customs*" (12mo, pp. 508), which on its first issue we received with pleasure. Then it was anonymous, but now the author gives us his name, as Mr. B. H. Hall. The book will interest particularly all who are students in colleges, and such graduates as have numbered years enough since the completion of their course to have induced both a forgetfulness of college conventionalisms and a desire to refresh their memories upon them. Many parents who have given to their sons advantages which they never themselves enjoyed would learn something about college life from these pages that might be of real service to them.

Messrs. J. P. Jewett & Co., of Boston, have published a "*Life of Schamyl, and Narrative of the Circassian War of Independence against Russia*," by J. Milton Mackie. (12mo, pp. 300.) The author has availed himself of the most authentic means of information concerning the country and the career of that remarkable man whose prowess and

heroism have, through the newspapers, interested hosts of readers to learn more of his stirring history and his heroic life.

The same Publishers have issued an abridgment, by an American clergyman, of the excellent Memoir of Bishop Heber by his Widow. (12mo, pp. 348.) It is an adequate memorial of a holy and devoted man, whose spirit was baptized by his Master, a Master whom he loved to serve.

Messrs. Phillips, Sampson, & Co. continue their beautiful series of the British Poets, in large type, on fair paper, by an additional volume of the Humorous Poems of Thomas Hood (12mo, pp. 488), under the most competent editorial care of Epes Sargent. The editor has taken great pains to complete what he had begun in the former volume of Hood's Poems, and to hunt out all the stray pieces from that marvelously skilful pen of a charming poet.

Messrs. Ticknor and Fields have republished in a choice style that delightful string of poetical pieces from an unnamed English writer, entitled "The Angel in the House. The Betrothal." (16mo, pp. 201.) Some fine spirit has here touched the chords of the living lyre, and drawn from it notes of pure, true melody.

Messrs. Whittemore, Niles, and Hall have issued a new and revised edition of Lockhart's Spanish Ballads. (16mo, pp. 151.) This edition is furnished with a biographical notice of Lockhart, and with its own Introduction and historical annotations upon the subjects of its Ballads, all in a compact form adapting it to the use of a pleasing travelling companion. A fine steel engraving of the Author fronts the title-page.

Messrs. C. S. Francis & Co., of New York, have published a very handsome and convenient edition of the same work (16mo, pp. 154), also with an Introductory Memoir. There are readers enough in each city to exhaust the copies of both editions.

Messrs. D. Appleton & Co., of New York, from early sheets of the London edition, have produced an equally attractive American edition of the "Recollections of the Table-Talk of Samuel Rogers. To which is added Porsoniana." (12mo, pp. 343.) This volume has neither exceeded nor fallen short of public expectation. It is a pleasant, gossipy record of talk, sometimes small, occasionally pregnant, upon interesting topics and men.

The same firm have issued an excellent compend of the "History of Philosophy," beginning with the Greeks and coming down to the time of Hegel. (12mo, pp. 365.) The work is translated from the German of Dr. Albert Schweigler, by Julius H. Seelye. It will afford all the information which general readers have a desire to possess or time to obtain on the subject treated in its pages.

The same publishers have issued "Elements of Logic; together with an Introductory View of Philosophy in general, and a Preliminary View of the Reason," by Henry P. Tappan. (12mo, pp. 467.)

Messrs. Gould and Lincoln have continued their well-proved plan of gathering up the important discoveries and improvements in science and

art of a single year. "The Annual of Scientific Discovery," for 1856, contains, of course, the fruits of the year 1855. The volume is of great value, and of high practical use. The editor, Mr. David A. Wells, performs his work faithfully. (12mo, pp. 398.)

Messrs. Crosby, Nichols, & Co. have just published "Sermons by Charles Manson Taggart, with a Memoir by John H. Heywood." (12mo, pp. lxiii. and 413.) The late Rev. Mr. Taggart was for a brief period preceding his decease, at the early age of thirty-three years, the colleague with the Rev. Dr. Gilman in the pastorate of the Unitarian Church in Charleston, S. C. He was born in Montreal, educated a Presbyterian, adopted Unitarian views as the result of study, conviction, and experience, received his education for the ministry at Meadville, Pa., and entered upon it with an earnest heart and a well-furnished mind. The Memoir by his friend, our brother of Louisville, is a genial tribute to the deceased; and the sermons from his own pen are adequate tokens of his Christian experience and self-consecration.

The same publishers issue "Home Studies. By Rebecca A. Upton." (16mo, pp. 246.) This volume is a felicitous combination of the agreeable and the practically useful, in the pages of a book designed to lie at hand in the dwelling to furnish information of a pretty wide range. The housekeeper and the gardener, the cook and governess, may here find a vast number of receipts and counsels, the gatherings of a lifetime, and all applicable to those daily uses of economy and comfort, which are against waste, and multiply the resources of a moderate happiness in the dwelling, — happiness all the more real, because moderate. The same publishers are preparing for publication a volume of Sermons, by Professor Huntington, of Cambridge, which will be looked for with interest, as specimens of earnest, living preaching, from a master in that great attainment.

Governor Bradford's History of Plymouth Colony. — We had hoped to have given in this number of our journal an account of this precious relic of the past, with extracts from its rich pages, but we are compelled to defer our purpose till our next issue. By the courtesy of Mr. Charles Deane, who has performed the very serious task of editing the volume with equal modesty, good taste, discretion, and literary ability, besides illustrating its pages by very careful historical annotations, we have had the pleasure of examining the sheets of the work. We will only say, in advance of a more adequate reference to it, that the work is worthy to stand by the side of the corresponding work of the honored Governor of the Massachusetts Colony. Winthrop and Bradford now have their memorials with us in legacies from their own pen, rehearsing to us the toils and buffetings of their wilderness work, and exalting the tribute of our profound respect for their own eminent virtues. The volume will very soon appear as one of the series of the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections.

Messrs. Dana & Co., of New York, have just published, "Men and Times of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson, including Journals of Travels in Europe and America, from 1777 to 1842; with his Correspondence with Public Men, and Reminiscences and Incidents of the Revolution. Edited by his Son, Winslow C. Watson." (8vo,

pp. 460.) The volume contains much that is entertaining in its relations of private experience, and in its references to matters of high public concern and to men of prominent influence in stirring times; it is of value as a contribution to history.

Messrs. J. P. Jewett & Co. publish, in imitation of the old books of an antique typographical style, one of the short devotional essays of a period anterior to the Reformation. It bears the title of "*Theologia Germanica*," or German Theology, is from an unknown author, was once edited and highly extolled by Luther, and now comes to us, as translated by Susanna Winkworth, from a German original edited by Dr. Pfeiffer, and preceded by a Preface from the Rev. Charles Kingsley, a Letter from Bunsen, and an Introduction by Professor C. E. Stowe. We were afraid that all this porch work would hardly be justified by the edifice to which it gives us access. But we have been equally gratified with all the contents of the volume.

We can give but the titles of some other new volumes which we have not found time to examine.

An Introduction to the Study of *Æsthetics*. By James C. Moffat. Cincinnati: Moore, Wilstach, Keys, & Co. 12mo. pp. 284.

The Philosophy of the Weather, and a Guide to its Changes. By T. B. Butler. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 16mo. pp. 414.

'98 and '48. The Modern Revolutionary History and Literature of Ireland. By John Savage. New York: Redfield. 12mo. pp. 384.

Confession, or The Blind Heart, a Domestic Story. By W. Gilmore Simms. New York: Redfield. 12mo. pp. 398.

The Island of Cuba, by Alexander Humboldt. Translated from the Spanish, with Notes and a Preliminary Essay. By J. S. Thrasher. New York: Derby & Jackson. 12mo. pp. 397.

Courtship and Marriage, or The Joys and Sorrows of American Life. By Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson. 12mo. pp. 522.

Charlemont, or The Bride of the Village, a Tale of Kentucky. By W. Gilmore Simms, Esq., author of "*The Partisan*," "*Mellichampe*," &c., &c. Redfield, 34 Beekman Street, New York. 12mo. pp. 447.

Literary Criticisms and Other Papers. By the late Horace Binney Wallace, Esq., of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Parry and McMillan, successors to A. Hart, late Carey and Hart. 1856. 12mo. pp. 460. A very agreeable collection of Essays upon a great variety of topics.

We have received the fourth and last volume of *The Works of the late Edgar Allan Poe*, with a Memoir by Rufus Wilmot Griswold, and Notices of His Life and Genius, by N. P. Willis and J. R. Lowell. In four volumes. IV. Arthur Gordon Pym, &c. Redfield, 34 Beekman Street, New York. 1856. 12mo. pp. 447. And we like his prose much better than his poetry.

From D. Appleton & Co. we have "*Rachel Gray: a Tale founded on Fact*." By Julia Kavanagh." And it is a very simple, touching story of fidelity and sacrifice in humble life, a portion of those "*annals of the poor*" which, when gracefully recorded by one who writes from the heart as well as with taste, are sure to be earnestly welcomed and to be productive of much good.

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RECOMMENDATIONS

OF

Worcester's Dictionaries;

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A REVIEW OF

WEBSTER'S SYSTEM OF ORTHOGRAPHY,

FROM THE

UNITED STATES DEMOCRATIC REVIEW,

FOR MARCH, 1856.



BOSTON:

HICKLING, SWAN AND BROWN.

1856.

The *New York Evening Post*, in speaking of this Review, says, —

“ We do not remember to have seen elsewhere such full justice done to Noah Webster’s System of Orthography, under which the English language has been corrupting for the last quarter of a century, as in an article which we find in the last number of the *Democratic Review*. We have copied it at length in our columns, and would gladly contribute toward the expense of having it read twice a year in every school house in the United States, until every trace of Websterian spelling disappears from the land. It is a melancholy evidence of the amount of mischief one man of learning can do to society, that Webster’s System of Orthography is adopted and propagated by the largest publishing house ; through the columns of the most widely circulated monthly magazine, and through one of the ablest and most widely circulated newspapers in the United States.

“ The article is attributed to the pen of Edward S. Gould, of this city.”

An American Dictionary of the English Language. By
NOAH WEBSTER. 1828-1853.

SOME five and twenty years have elapsed since this dictionary was first issued; and, to its compiler and publishers, they have been years of success. The time for producing the work was fortunate. Our language had grown rapidly for a considerable period; its vocabulary was largely increased by the contributions of science, by numerous adoptions from foreign tongues, and by an accumulation of derivatives from our own established words; so that a well-digested record of the progress of the language was really needed. Besides, the parties in interest, following the suggestion of the title page, had industriously cultivated an *Esprit-Américain* in behalf of the book, which materially aided its favorable reception.

If Webster had confined himself to recording such additions of words as usage had sanctioned, to a careful sifting of etymologies, and to his own valuable definitions, his work would have been as great an acquisition to literature as to his individual profit. But, unfortunately, like many other men, priding himself most on what he was least fitted for, and assuming a character for which few men *are* fitted,—that of a reformer,—he added to his legitimate labor the gratuitous task of improving the orthography of the language.

True, language, like all things human, is mutable. So long as it continues to be spoken, it will continue to change. From the days of JOHNSON to the days of Webster, thousands of words had been added to the common stock, and many variations had taken place in the meanings of words. Spelling, also, had undergone some modifications. For example,

the *k* of *musick*, *physick*, etc., and the *u* of *favour*, *honour*, etc., had been gradually dropped by good writers, though probably without good reason; and thus orthography, too, was in a state of progress. This was an undesirable state; for it left the student without any absolute standard. And if the student chose to refine upon the matter, he would soon see that not only was there no absolute standard, but that the very principles of our orthography — its rules and its analogies — were exceedingly defective.

This is all true; but it is also true that discovering defects is one thing, curing them another; and it is the fate of reformers, generally, to propose remedies that are worse than the disease. They can see that such and such wheels of the machine have an eccentric motion; but they cannot see that cutting away what they deem superfluous flanges may disturb other wheels that are regulated by that very eccentricity. A change which the reformer thinks will promote simplicity, may happen to produce confusion; and, unless he fully understands the machinery, he is pretty certain to do mischief by meddling with it.

This would seem to be Webster's predicament. He aspired to a Newtonian law that would reconcile all orthographical inconsistencies; he produced certain arbitrary rules of his own creation that reconcile nothing, that are whimsically limited in their scope, and are ridiculous from their reciprocal contradictions.

Webster remarks that "the chief value of a dictionary consists in its definitions." Some one else remarks, that "opinions differ." Yet it must be acknowledged that Webster's remark, as applied to *his own* dictionary, is not far from the truth. The vocabulary of his book has, certainly, the merit of amplitude. He says it "contains sixteen thousand words not to be found in any similar preceding work;" but when one opens the book in the middle, and finds, consecutively,

<i>irremovability,</i>	<i>irremovable,</i>
<i>irremovably,</i>	<i>irremoval,</i>
<i>irremunerable,</i>	<i>irrenowned,</i>
<i>irreparability,</i>	<i>irreparable,</i>
<i>irreparableness,</i>	<i>irreparably,</i>
<i>irrepealability,</i>	<i>irrepealable,</i>
<i>irrepealableness,</i>	<i>irrepealably,</i>
<i>irrepentance,</i>	

he may, perhaps, doubt whether "the value of the dictionary" increases in the direct ratio of its voluminousness. Webster's etymologies, too, are

copious; probably more so than any preceding lexicographer's, in the proportion of three to one; but as their genuineness is not always beyond question, their quantity is hardly a fair measure of their "value." The orthography of the dictionary requires a more careful consideration.

The principles—or rather the dogmas—of Webster's proposed reform, are embodied in the following enumerated paragraphs:

1. Considering that the tendency of our language to greater simplicity and broader analogies ought to be watched and cherished with the utmost care, he felt that whenever a movement toward wider analogies and more general rules had advanced so far as to leave but few exceptions to impede its progress, those exceptions ought to be set aside at once, and the analogy rendered complete.

2. We had numerous words derived from the French, originally ending in *re*, as, *cidre*, *chambre*, etc. And, as these had gradually conformed to English spelling, until the number ending in *re* was reduced to fifteen or twenty, with their derivatives, it was necessary to complete the analogy at once by transposing the terminations of the remainder. *Acre*, *massacre*, and *lucre*, however, are necessary exceptions, since transposing their terminations would endanger their pronunciation.

3. We had many hundreds of primitives ending in a single consonant, whose derivatives were formed by the addition of *ing*, *ed*, *er*, etc., and in their derivatives, this single consonant was doubled when the accent fell on it, as, *forget*, *forgetting*; but it was not doubled when the accent fell on a preceding syllable, as *garden*, *gardener*. There were also about fifty words ending in *l*, in which the analogy was violated, as *travel*, *traveller*. It was necessary, therefore, at once to strike out the superfluous *l* from these fifty words. But the *ll* was retained in *chancellor*, *metallurgy*, *crystalline*, with their cognates, because they were derived directly from the Latin and Greek, *cancellarius*, *metallum*, and *κρυσταλλος*.

4. *Expense*, *recompense*, *license*, which formerly had a *c* in their last syllable, had since taken an *s*, because *s* is used in their derivatives, as, *expensive*, etc. As, in this instance, it was necessary to change only three words to complete the analogy, namely, *defence*, *offence*, and *pretence*, their *c* was at once replaced with an *s*, and they were written *defense*, *offense*, and *pretense*. It had been asked, why not spell *fence* in the same manner? And nothing is easier than the answer; the derivatives require the *c*; as, *fencing*, etc., and therefore the *c* of *fence* is retained.

5. *Foretel*, *instil*, *distil*, *fulfil* should be written *foretell*, *instill*, etc., because their derivatives, *foretelling*, *instilling*, etc., are so written.

6. *Dulness, fulness, skilful, wilful*, must be written *dullness, fullness*, etc., because their primitives are so written; as, *dull, full, skill, will*. Walker says there is no reason why we should not write *dullness, fullness, skilful*, and *wilful*, as well as *stiffness, gruffness*, and *crossness*.

7. Such compounds as *befall, miscall, install, forestall, intrall, enroll*, and their derivatives, *befalling, miscalling, installing, forestalling, intrallment*, and *enrollment*, are spelled with the *ll*, to prevent a false pronunciation.

8. *Mould* and *moult* should be spelled *mold* and *molt*, because the *u* has been dropped, or never was used, in *gold, bold, fold, colt*.

9. *Wo* should be spelled *woe*, because *doe, foe, hoe, toe*, and all similar nouns of one syllable are so spelled. The parts of speech other than nouns, as, *go, so, no*, retain the termination in *o*; as also do nouns of more than one syllable, as, *motto, potato, tomato*.

10. *Practiss*, the verb, should be spelled *practice*, because the noun is so spelled. *Drought* should be spelled *drouth*, because it is extensively so pronounced. *Height* should be spelled *hight*, because it was so spelled by MILTON. *Ton* should be spelled *tun*, and *molasses molasses*, because that spelling is more consistent with the etymologies. *Contemporary* should be spelled *cotemporary*, because it is more easily pronounced. *Plough* should be spelled *plow*, because that spelling more naturally represents the sound. *Axe* should be spelled *ax*, because *axe* is an improper spelling.

11. Verbs from the Greek *τεω*, and others formed in analogy with them, have the termination in *ize*, as, *baptize, legalize*, etc. *Catechise* and *exorcise* are exceptions. Verbs, and some nouns, derived directly from the French, and a few from other sources, have the termination in *ise*, as, *advertise, advise, affranchise, chastise, circumcise, comprise, compromise, criticise, demise, despise, devise, disfranchise, disguise, emprise, enfranchise, enterprise, exercise, merchandise, misprise, premise, reprise, revise, supervise, surmise, surprise*.

These eleven paragraphs, dogmas, rules, or whatever they may be termed, form, with the exception of a few "instances" entirely too trivial to be discussed, the sum total of Webster's orthographical creed, presented substantially in his own words.

1. The assumptions of number 1 are characteristic and suggestive. They prophetically weigh and measure the lexicographer. Nobody can doubt what sort of orthography will follow such a preamble. The "tendencies" which it would puzzle any other philologist to discover, the

complacent "*solicitude*" with which those tendencies are "*watched and cherished*," and the heroism which summarily removes impeding "*exceptions*," (regardless of consequences, as reformers always nobly proclaim themselves,) are consistent with each other, and pleasant to look upon.

2. Webster found fifteen or twenty words derived from the French, and retaining their original termination in *re*, "although numerous other words, of similar derivation and termination, had gradually conformed to English spelling;" that is, the *re* had been transposed to *er*, as, *cidre* to *cider*, *chambre* to *chamber*, etc. What Webster means by the term "English spelling," in this connection, is not obvious; *re* is as consistent with any admitted or fixed principle of English orthography as *er*; but the reason why these fifteen or twenty words retained their original termination, and why Webster should have let them alone, is obvious enough to every one but himself; namely, that their *derivatives required it*. As Webster found the words, they stood thus:

<i>theatre,</i>	<i>theatrical,</i>
<i>sepulchre,</i>	<i>sepulchral,</i>
<i>centre,</i>	<i>central,</i>
<i>lustre,</i>	<i>lustrous, etc., etc.</i>

As he left them, they stand thus:

<i>theater,</i>	<i>theatrical,</i>
<i>sepulcher,</i>	<i>sepulchral,</i>
<i>center,</i>	<i>central,</i>
<i>luster,</i>	<i>lustrous, etc., etc.;</i>

that is, he transposed the termination of the primitive, to conform to *his rule*, and then *retransposed* it in the derivative to conform to "English spelling." *His* derivatives should be,

theaterical,
sepulcheral,
centeral,
lusterous, etc.

Acre, massacre, lucre, he says "are necessary exceptions." Doubtless they are "necessary" to *his rule*, and that proves his rule to be a bad one; it neither "promotes simplicity" nor "broadens analogy." When derivatives on the one hand, and pronunciation on the other, oppose the working of an arbitrary rule, a prudent man would withhold his rule; but reformers are seldom prudent men. In direct contradiction of this rule, Webster spells *ogre* with the original termination.

3. For reasons satisfactory to Webster — *ante*, rule number 3 — it was

necessary to strike out the “superfluous *l*” of *travelling*, and “about fifty similar words.” If the precept in rule number 2 has any force, namely, that the spelling must not be altered when altering it endangers the pronunciation, some of these fifty changes will be found hazardous. For instance, as a matter of fact, and by orthoëpical construction,

shaveling,
starveling, etc.,

are words of two syllables; yet, under this rule, Webster ordains that

*shovel*ing,
*travel*ing, etc.,

which have precisely the same orthoëpical construction, shall be pronounced in three syllables. Here, then, is arbitrary rule the second, in direct conflict with arbitrary rule the first. Which must give way? But that is not all. Webster says that *chancellor*, *metallurgy*, and *crystalline* retain the *ll* because they are derived directly from the Latin and Greek. This “because” may as well be investigated. The lexicographer bases an orthographical principle on his simple assertion of a fact; but that fact is, first, inherently improbable; secondly, is utterly beyond the assertor’s knowledge; and thirdly, would not support his position if it were true. 1. It is improbable. The three words necessarily came to the French before they were adopted by the English; and as *κρυσταλλος* changed into *crystallinus* on its journey through Rome, they all went “directly” from Italy to France; and our English ancestors had no occasion to go to Italy for what was already to be had by crossing the Channel. Moreover, the *h* of *chancellor* proves that it came “directly” from the French, and Webster *dis*-proves his own assertion of its derivation from *cancellarius*, by giving, in his own dictionary, *chancelier* as its etymology! 2. It is beyond the assertor’s knowledge. Neither he nor his great-grandfather was *there* when the word was adopted; no human being can affirm, as truth, what is so remote and conjectural; and a vague and rash *guess* forms no apology, even, for such an affirmation. 3. If the words were “directly so derived,” the fact would not justify Webster’s excepting them from his rule. That rule is, inferentially — otherwise, it has no meaning whatever — that words “directly derived” always retain the *ll* of their originals. Yet observe how Webster himself sets this rule at nought in this very dictionary:

<i>excel</i> ,	spelled with one <i>l</i> ,	is derived from	<i>excell</i> o ;
<i>dispel</i> ,	“ “ “		<i>dispell</i> o ;
<i>repel</i> ,	“ “ “		<i>repell</i> o ;

libel, spelled with one *l*, is derived from *libellus* ;
pupil, " " " *pupillus* ;
compel, " " " *compello* ;

and so forth, and so forth. Nor is this all. After Webster has expunged the "superfluous *l*" from his "fifty words," *marvellous*, *counsellor*, etc., in obedience to rule number 3, he proceeds, in defiance of the same rule, to spell in his dictionary as follows :

<i>gravel</i> ,	(primitive,)	<i>lamel</i> ,	(primitive,)
<i>gravelly</i> ,		<i>lamellar</i> ,	
<i>chapel</i> ,	(primitive,)	<i>lamellarly</i> ,	
<i>chapellary</i> ,		<i>lamellate</i> ,	
<i>cancel</i> ,	(primitive,)	<i>lamellated</i> ,	
<i>cancellate</i> ,		<i>lamelliferous</i> ,	
<i>cancellated</i> ,		<i>etc., etc.</i> ,	
<i>cancellation</i> ,			

and so on, indefinitely. There is another point to be considered, about rule number 3. Its phraseology seems to be plain, but Webster's practice confuses it. The rule *says*, that when the accent falls on the final consonant of the primitive, it is to be doubled in the derivative, and not otherwise ; as, *forget*, *forgetting*, in the one case, and *travel*, *traveler*, in the other. Yet Webster spells

tranquil, *tranquillity*, etc.,

as if he were prepared to say, that, though the accent does not fall on the final consonant of the primitive while it remains a primitive, yet if that consonant takes the accent when the word becomes a derivative, it is still to be doubled. This would be interpreting Webster's rule with a large latitude in his favor, and it is an interpretation to which he is by no means entitled. Nevertheless, give him the full benefit of it, and then apply the rule, so construed, to his spelling of

<i>civil</i> ,	<i>civility</i> ,
<i>legal</i> ,	<i>legality</i> ,
<i>frugal</i> ,	<i>frugality</i> , etc.,

and, then, for a counter-contradiction of his rule, where the final consonant of the primitive *is* accented, and the same consonant in the derivative is *not*, take his spelling of

excel, *excellent*,

and the lexicographer's inconsistency approaches the sublime ! It is to be observed that the spelling of the twenty and odd words here cited is correct in fact, but is not correct according to Webster's own rules.

4. Webster specifies *license*, among other words, as having been changed from *licence*, "because the derivatives require the *s*." This affirmation is an extraordinary "license" for a lexicographer whose dictionary contains the following words:

<i>license</i> ,	<i>licentiate</i> ,
<i>licensed</i> ,	<i>licentiation</i> ,
<i>licensing</i> ,	<i>licentious</i> ,
<i>licenser</i> ,	<i>licentiously</i> ,
<i>licensure</i> ,	<i>licentiousness</i> ;

that is, four derivatives in which the *s* is used, and five where it is not. And this misstatement of the fact is material, because Webster makes it one of his points of justification in "changing the only three words that remain, terminating in *ence*." But what does Webster mean by saying that *pretence*, *offence*, and *defence*, are "the only three words that remain terminating in *ence*"? His own dictionary contains many other words "terminating in *ence*," the derivatives of which do not retain the *c*, all of which he leaves just as he finds them, in a state of absolute non-conformity to his rule. For example:

<i>sentence</i> ,	<i>sententious</i> ,
<i>consequence</i> ,	<i>consequential</i> ,
<i>inference</i> ,	<i>inferential</i> ,

and so on. If a direct answer could have been extorted from Webster, it would be pleasant to see his reply to this question: Since it was necessary to change *defence* into *defense*, because *defensive* is spelled with an *s*, why should *sentence* remain unchanged, when its derivatives are spelled with a *t*? Webster says, "The question has been asked, Why not spell *fence* with an *s*?" And he finds "nothing easier than the reply, that the derivatives of *fence* require the *c*." If this reply means any thing, it means that the spelling of a derivative must control the spelling of its primitive; and if this rule has any force, it must be general in its application, and not restricted to such isolated cases as Webster's caprice may dictate. The reader will have occasion to keep this point in remembrance. Now, *what are* "the primitives," in the case of *fence*, *offence*, and *defence*? Webster's dictionary gives the answer:

fend, the root of *offend* and *defend*;
fence, for etymology, see *fend*;

in other words, *fend* is the original word; and from it, in order, come *fence*, *offend*, *defend*, *offence*, *offensive*, etc., *defence*, *defensive*, etc. So that, when Webster changed *defence* to *defense*, instead of conforming to

his rule, that the spelling of the derivative must govern that of the primitive, he, in fact, and without knowing it, practically enacted a new rule, that the spelling of one derivative must govern the spelling of another derivative, whenever the lexicographer deemed it expedient. The remaining word of the "only three that remained," is *pretence*. Here, again, by parity of reasoning, the actual primitive is *pretend*; but, for the sake of the argument, let *pretence* be the primitive, and then consult Webster's dictionary:

pretense,
pretensed, (*Encyc.*)
pretension;

the primitive, *pretence*, is changed, to conform to its two derivatives. But what sort of a modern English word is *pretensed*? Webster cites the Encyclopædia as authority. *What* Encyclopædia? Rule out the word, for the present, as not sufficiently accredited, and there remains one primitive *vs.* one derivative; a tie vote. But this is not a fair statement on the part of Webster; he omits the familiar word *pretentious*. His dictionary, which "contains 16,000 more words than can be found in any previous dictionary," and which attains that distinction by recruits from all creditable and discreditable sources, nevertheless does not contain the word *pretentious*. Why? Did Webster omit that, and insert *pretensed*, in order to give "the derivatives" a uniformity of spelling, and a majority of numbers? If so, the proceeding smacks strongly of false "pretences."

5, 6. Under rule number 3, Webster hunts down the "superfluous *l*" with the spirit of an exterminator; and in his preface, he still further hardens himself against *l*, by quoting a sneer from *Walker*; but Webster, under rule number 3, and Webster under rules 5 and 6, are two different men. The reasons given for adding an *l* to some words are quite as good as the reasons for taking it away from others; of which, more anon. In the mean time, it is impossible not to suggest, in reference to the quotation from Walker, (*vide* rule number 6,) that as *dulness* should be written *dullness*, because its primitive is written *dull*, *skilful* should be written *skillfull*, to "complete the analogy" with *stiffness*. An illustration, however, is a dangerous form of argument; it is very apt to prove too much, and those who resort to it in one case must submit to it in another. Apply this to rule number 5. "*Distil*, etc., should be written *distill*, because the derivatives, *distiller*, etc., require the *ll*;" then, certainly, *forget*, *submit*, *begin*, *refer*, *concur*, *repel*, and so

on, should be written *forgett*, *submitt*, *beginn*, *referr*, *concurr*, *repell*, and so on, because their derivatives require the final consonant to be doubled; as, *forgetting*, *submitting*, *beginning*, *referring*, *concurring*, *repelling*. By the way, Webster's views of the powers of a lexicographer are pleasantly illustrated in a remark about Walker. Having quoted, in his preface, Walker's opinion on "the superfluous *l*," he says, "These were the deliberate opinions of Walker. If he had taken the trouble to carry them into his vocabulary, instead of relying on this mere remark for the correction of the error, probably, by this time, the error *would have been wholly eradicated from our orthography*."

7. Webster's manner of stating this rule leads the reader to suppose that *befall*, *install*, *forestall*, *inthrall*, *miscall*, and *enroll*, are Webster's improvements on the previous spelling; but the last two, only, are his; and it is very odd that, when he became alive to the danger of mispronouncing *enrol* with one *l*, he should be so insensible to the same danger in *control*, as to spell it with a single *l*; and that, too, while he spells the derivatives *controlling*, etc., with the double *l*, in direct opposition to his own rule number 5.

8. "*Mould* and *moult* should be written *mold* and *molt*, because the *u* has been dropped, or never was used, in *gold*, *bold*, *fold*, and *colt*." The reason is good, and its force may be shown, as in rule number 5, by carrying out the illustration; *court* should be written *cort*, "because the *u* has been dropped, or never was used in" *port* and *fort*!

9. Webster found *wo*, *go*, *so*, *no*, without the *e*, and *foe*, *toe*, *hoe*, with it. His reason for adding the *e* to *wo*, and for not adding it to *go*, *so*, *no*, is, that *wo* is a noun, and the other three words are "other parts of speech." This is a small matter, at best; but Webster's reason is entirely arbitrary.

10. Waiving the questions whether MILTON is an authority for English orthography in the nineteenth century, and if he is so, whether *light* is not misprinted from his manuscript *per alium*, one question remains touching rule number 10, viz.: Is there any disputed point in ethics, morals, religion, astronomy, or nursery rhymes, which may not be effectually disposed of by this universal solvent "*because*"? A word, however, as to MILTON, on the questions waived. Webster cites a poet who died a century and a half before the "American Dictionary" was born, in support of the spelling of the single word *light*. But, surely, MILTON, if an authority at all, cannot be restricted to one word; he must be presumed to have had a knowledge of orthography generally, if he is per-

mitted to dogmatize on it particularly; and if Webster accredits him as a standard, he must follow him as a standard. Turn, then, to the first edition of *Paradise Lost*. That may pretty safely be taken as an exponent of the poet's principles of English spelling—if, in his blindness, he had any. This edition, published in London in 1669, has, *passim*, the following specimens:

Som (some), rowled (rolled), shon (shone), tast (taste), fowl (foul), thir (their), justifie, defie, adversarie, progenie, alwaies, skie, appeer, neer, cleer, binde, mankinde, wilde, waye, ruine, cherube, haire, paine, forme, eare, gulfe, rime, accoste, meeter, mee, hee, seaventh, warr, clann, kenn, farr, lyes, onely, desperat, supream, sollid, etc.

11. Webster does not say *why* “verbs from the Greek *τεω* terminate in *ize*, as *baptize*,” etc., nor why “catechise and exorcise are exceptions.” But the working of his rule, under which he changes *defence* to *defense*, because *defensive* requires the *s*, seems to be impeded when applied to *baptize*, for he leaves it as he finds it, although he is compelled to spell its derivatives with an *s*; *baptist, baptism, baptismal*, etc. The assertion that *baptize* and *legalize* are “derived directly from the Greek,” needs confirmation. Webster proceeds to say that “verbs and some nouns, derived from the French and elsewhere, have the termination in *ise*,” and he furnishes a list of examples that professes to include the whole. The necessity for the remark and the citations is not very obvious; but it is strange that with his propensity to “complete analogies,” he should have omitted to include in his list the single and “only remaining” word *prize*; certainly, on his own showing, that should be spelled *prise*.

It would seem, then, that Webster's much vaunted reform is limited to about *eighty words* in a dictionary containing *eighty thousand* words; being the proportion of one to a thousand. A homœopathic quantity; yet, as the words victimized are those in common use, the minute dose has had a visible effect on the system. But the effect is not remedial. The patient is no better. English orthography has not been simplified, nor have its analogies been broadened by Webster's labors, even supposing his innovations had been accepted by scholars—which they have not. The dictionary may *sell*, but not for its orthography. The proprietors of a large publishing house, who are also publishers of the dictionary, have introduced Webster's spelling into their books, probably as a matter of contract; and some newspapers have, to a greater or less extent, taken the same course. But these instances carry no authority on a purely

literary question. Educated men and good writers, generally, have repudiated the experiment. And why should they not? The volunteer reformer was every way unequal to his task. He has given no good reason for any one change; and his changes, so far as adopted, have introduced confusion. His rules are ridiculous in themselves, irreconcilable with each other, and constantly at variance with his own practice. He changes a termination, or adds or takes away a letter, because the primitive requires it — because the derivative requires it — because it endangers the pronunciation, when it does not — because it secures the pronunciation, when it does not — because the word is a noun — because it isn't a noun — because it is an exception — because it is so pronounced (by ignorant people) — because MILTON spelled it so — in short, "because" *any thing* that fits the caprice of the moment. Such advancing and retreating, such convolutions and involutions of reasoning, all for the sake of doing what never was done before, and all within the compass of eighty words, can find no precedent in the career of reforms.

And it is remarkable, that Webster, with all his plodding, could not hit upon the really weak points of the language. He had the luck always to attack what was impregnable — at least, to *his* assaults. There is no lack of inconsistencies in English orthography; but the instances that are least defensible are just those that Webster failed to discover. It may be well to designate a few specimens — not with the intention of urging a reform; Webster's experience in that line may well deter imitators; but — to show how obscure are obvious truths to a certain class of investigators.

To *lead*, to *read*; the preterite and past participle of these verbs are pronounced *led* and *red*, and yet are spelled *led* and *read*.

Use, *abuse*, *rise*; the nouns and verbs have a uniform spelling, but the nouns are pronounced as *uce* and *ice*, and the verbs *uze* and *ize*; yet *advice* and *advise*, with a similar difference of pronunciation, are spelled to conform to that difference. Again, *surprise*, *surmise*, etc., pronounce the *s* like *z*, in both the verb and the noun.

Few and *view*; why should not the spelling of these words be uniform?

Whole in the adverb drops the *e*, and becomes *wholly*; *vile* in the adverb retains the *e*, *vilely*.

Fascinate and *vacillate*; one with the *s* and the other without it; *imitate* and *imminent*; one with one *m*, and the other with two. These words follow their respective etymologies, but there are so many instances where etymology does not control orthography, it seems rather *Websterian* to give that as a reason for the difference.

Vermilion, pavilion, cotillion ; all directly from the French, and all having the *ll* in the original, though only the last retains it.

Boot, root, foot, in the singular, change, in the plural, to *boots, roots, feet*.

Proffer and *profit*, with a similar etymology, are thus differently spelled.

Couple and *supple*, from the French *couple* and *souple* ; etymology in all respects identical, and yet, though pronounced alike in English, are thus diversely spelled.

Episode and *epitome* have the same etymology, yet one has three syllables, and the other four ; this, however, is not a matter of spelling, but of pronunciation.

These are a few examples of *real* inconsistency in English orthography ; but probably no man in his senses would undertake to reform them ; the game would not pay for the candle.

Webster's tampering with the language was a calamity, because *no* radicalism is without its followers, and he has his. But the thing will have its day, and this good may come of it—other enthusiasts, taking warning from his example, may learn that a reformer whose entire theory is based on assumptions, whose rules are bare assertions of his opinions, and whose practice is inconsistent with both, will never make much progress among educated minds.

Worcester's New Dictionary

A

PRONOUNCING, EXPLANATORY AND SYNONYMOUS

DICTIONARY

OF THE

ENGLISH LANGUAGE:

WITH

- I.—PRONUNCIATION OF GREEK AND LATIN PROPER NAMES.
- II.—PRONUNCIATION OF SCRIPTURE PROPER NAMES.
- III.—COMMON CHRISTIAN NAMES, WITH THEIR SIGNIFICATION.
- IV.—PRONUNCIATION OF MODERN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES.
- V.—ABBREVIATIONS USED IN WRITING AND PRINTING.
- VI.—PHRASES AND QUOTATIONS IN LATIN, FRENCH, ITALIAN, AND SPANISH.
- VII.—THE PRINCIPAL DEITIES AND HEROES IN GREEK AND ROMAN FANTASY HISTORY.

BY JOSEPH E. WORCESTER, LL. D.

OCTAVO. 565 PAGES.

THIS Dictionary, designed for the use of Colleges, Academies, High Schools, and Private Libraries, bears on every page indubitable marks of having been carefully and skilfully prepared by Dr. Worcester, whose previous contributions to our educational literature have been models of condensation, of lucid arrangement, and of concise and perspicuous language, in their mode of presenting the results of extensive and accurate research.

In the department of DEFINITIONS, he has not contented himself with merely giving the accepted significations of a word, but has

shown in what connections or relations it is appropriately replaced by nearly equivalent words. This is what is meant by the term *synonymous* in the title. It adds greatly to copiousness and variety in speech and writing to be able to substitute one word for another without an essential alteration of the idea to be expressed. But it is very difficult to discriminate with accuracy between several expressions nearly related, and to select that which shall be most appropriate in a given case. Very few, even of the best speakers and writers, become so thoroughly masters of their native language as never to experience embarrassment in the search after a fit expression. It is to help in overcoming this difficulty that Dr. Worcester has introduced, in connection with those words which seem most to require it, a short exhibition of the synonymous terms, showing at a glance the distinctions to be noticed in choosing among them. Take, for example, the following words:—

À-BYŊ'ĐON, v. a. To give up; to quit; to forsake; to desert; to leave; to relinquish; to resign; to renounce; to abdicate; to surrender; to forego.

Syn.—Bad parents *abandon* their children; men *abandon* the unfortunate objects of their guilty passions; men are *abandoned* by their friends; they *abandon* themselves to unlawful pleasures.—A mariner *abandons* his vessel and cargo in a storm; we *abandon* our houses and property to an invading army; we *desert* a post or station; *leave* the country; *forsake* companions; *relinquish* claims; *quit* business; *resign* an office; *renounce* a profession, or the world; *abdicate* a throne; *surrender* a town; *surrender* what we have in trust; we *abandon* a measure or an enterprise; *forego* a claim or a pleasure.

AD-VICE', n. Counsel; instruction:—intelligence.

Syn.—A physician gives *advice*; a parent, *counsel*; a teacher, *instruction*:—*advice*, *intelligence*, or *information* may be received from a correspondent.

À-MAZE', v. a. To astonish; perplex; confound.

Syn.—Amazed at what is frightful or incomprehensible; *astonished* at what is striking; *perplexed*, *confounded*, or *confused* at what is embarrassing; *surprised* at what is unexpected.

ÀM-BAS'SA-DOR, n. A foreign minister of the highest rank sent on public business from one sovereign power to another.

Syn.—An *ambassador* and *plenipotentiary* imply the highest representative rank. An *ambassador* and *resident*, or *minister resident*, are permanent functionaries. An *envoy* and *resident* are functionaries of the second class of foreign ministers; and a *chargé d'affaires* is one of the third or lowest class.

À-NAL-Y-SIS, n.; pl. **À-NAL-Y-SIS**. The resolution of any thing into its first elements or component parts;—opposed to *synthesis*, which is the union of the component parts to form a compound. *Synthesis* is synonymous with *composition*; *analysis*, with *decomposition*.

ÀS-SO-CI-ATION, (s-s-she-s'shun) n. Confederacy; partnership; connection; union.

Syn.—An ecclesiastical or scientific *association*; a *confederacy* of states; a *partnership* in trade; a *connection* between persons; a *combination* of individuals; a *union* of parties or of states.

ÀV-À-RĠ'CIQUS, (ÀV-À-fish's) a. Possessed of avarice; greedy of gain; covetous; niggardly; miserly; parsimonious; penurious.

Syn.—The *avaricious* are unwilling to part with their money; the *covetous* are eager to obtain money; the *niggardly* are mean in their dealings with others; the *miserly*, *parsimonious*, and *penurious* are mean to themselves, as well as to others.

CUS'TOM, n. The frequent repetition of the same act; habit; habitual practice; usage:—patronage:—*custom* on exports and imports. See **TAXES**.

Syn.—*Custom* is a frequent repetition of the same act; *habit* is the effect of such repetition; *fashion* is the custom of numbers; *usage*, the habit of numbers.

DE-CEIV'ER, n. One who deceives; a cheat.

Syn.—A *deceiver* or *cheat* imposes on individuals; an *impostor*, on the public.

WORCESTER'S NEW DICTIONARY.

DE-FEND', v. a. To protect; to vindicate; to repel.

Syn. — *Defend* the innocent; *protect* the weak; *vindicate* those who are unjustly accused; *repel* aggression.

DIS-CERN'MENT, (dis-sēr'n'ment) n. Act of discerning; penetration; sagacity; judgment.

Syn. — *Discernment* to distinguish; *penetration* or *sagacity* to perceive; *discrimination* to mark differences; *judgment* to decide.

HIS-TORY, n. A narrative of past events; a relation of facts respecting nations, empires, &c. — *Civil* or *political history* is the history of states and empires. *Profane history* is another term for *civil history*, as distinguished from *sacred history*, which is the historical part of the Scriptures. *Ecclesiastical history* is the history of the Christian church. *Natural history* is the history of all the productions of nature, animal, vegetable, and mineral.

Syn. — *Annals* are historical events digested in a series according to years; a *chronicle* is a register of events in the order of time; *memoirs*, an account of events or transactions written familiarly, or as they are remembered by the narrator.

IN-FIDEL, n. A disbeliever of Christianity; an atheist; an unbeliever.

Syn. — An *infidel* is one who has no belief in divine revelation; *unbeliever* and *disbeliever* are terms commonly, but not always, used in the same sense: — a *sceptic* professes to doubt of all things: — a *deist* believes in the existence of God, but disbelieves revelation: — an *atheist* denies the existence of God: — *freethinker* is commonly used in an ill sense, as synonymous with *infidel*.

LIN'GUAGE (līng'gwaj), n. The mode of utterance; human speech; the speech of one nation; tongue; dialect; idiom; style.

Syn. — *Language* is a very general term, as we say the *language* not only of men, but of beasts and birds. *Tongue* refers to an original language, as the Hebrew *tongue*. *Speech* contemplates language as broken or cut into words, as the parts of *speech*, the gift of *speech*. Every language has its peculiar *idioms*. A *dialect* is an incidental form of a language used by the inhabitants of a particular district. The Greek *language*; Greek *idiom*; *Attic dialect*. Native or vernacular *language*; mother *tongue*. *Elegant* or good *language* or *style*.

LAWYER, n. One versed in law; an attorney.

Syn. — *Lawyer* is a general term for one who is versed in, or who practices law. — *Bar-ister*, *counsellor*, and *counsel*, are terms applied to lawyers who advise and assist clients, and plead for them in a court of justice. — An *attorney* is a lawyer who acts for another, and prepares cases for trial. — An *advocate* is a lawyer who argues causes. — A *special pleader* is one who prepares the written pleadings in a cause. — A *chamber counsellor* is a lawyer who gives advice in his office, but does not act in court. — A *consecrator* is one who draws writings, by which real estate is transferred. — *Juriconsult* and *jurist* are terms applied to such as are versed in the science of law, particularly civil or Roman law. — A *solicitor* is a lawyer employed in a chancery court. — A *publicist* is a writer on the laws of nature and nations.

These instances will suffice to give an idea of the very great benefit one may receive by having this Dictionary at hand while engaged in composition; and to young pupils in our schools who are making their first attempts at expressing their thoughts in writing, such a book must be invaluable. At the same time it will not be less useful as a guide in all other matters upon which dictionaries are usually consulted. The definitions, though concisely expressed, are accurate, and sufficiently full to satisfy all ordinary inquiries. In SPELLING, the most approved usage is followed, without any attempt at innovation, and the various modes of PRONUNCIATION are given, with their several authorities, the author's preference being only intimated, but not insisted on.

In the APPENDIX we find, the Vocabularies of Classical, Scripture, and Modern Geographical Names, which were contained in the Comprehensive Dictionary, here much enlarged, and, in addition, a

WORCESTER'S NEW DICTIONARY.

list of common Christian names of men and women, with their etymologies and signification, in the perusal of which one may find much instruction and amusement.

Numerous letters have been received by the publishers, and others by the author (to which the publishers have had access), from some of the most distinguished teachers and literary men in different parts of the country. The following extracts will show in what estimation the work is held by them.

From the Hon. Edward Everett, LL. D.

Boston, Mass., November 19, 1855.

I willingly comply with your request that I would express my opinion of the Pronouncing, Explanatory, and Synonymous Dictionary, by Mr. Worcester, of which you were good enough to send me a copy a few weeks since. As far as I have had occasion to examine it, I find this new Dictionary to be marked with the characteristics of Mr. Worcester's former works of the same class, viz., accuracy as to matters of undisputed fact, and sound judgment as to debatable points. His orthography and pronunciation represent, as far as I am aware, the most approved usage of our language. His definitions seldom leave any thing to desire. The synonymes form a valuable feature of the present work, and a novel one for a manual dictionary. The matter contained in the Appendix is of great value, and will materially promote the convenience of the reader.

I have made constant use of Mr. Worcester's Dictionaries since their first publication, and I consider the present work, in some respects, an improvement on its predecessors.

EDWARD EVERETT.

From William H. Prescott, LL. D.

Boston, Mass., November 8, 1855.

I am much obliged to you for the present of your excellent Dictionary. It is a welcome addition to my library; for, though I had provided myself with an earlier edition, I was not possessed of this, which evidently contains many improvements on its predecessors. I have long since learned to appreciate your valuable labors, which have done so much to establish the accuracy of pronunciation, while affording the reader, by the citation of authorities, the means of determining for himself. Nor is the public less indebted to you for the pains you have bestowed on settling the orthography of words, which in many instances affords ample debatable ground to the inquirer. These more prominent merits of all your dictionaries are enhanced by the judicious selection of synonymes, with which the present edition is enriched.

A work compiled on so sound and philosophical principles, and yet so well accommodated to popular use, cannot fail to commend itself to all who would have a correct knowledge of their vernacular.

WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT.

WORCESTER'S NEW DICTIONARY.

From Washington Irving, LL. D.

SUNNY SIDE, N. Y., October 3, 1855.

Accept my thanks for the copy of your Pronouncing, Explanatory, and Synonymous Dictionary which you have had the kindness to send me. As far as I have had time to examine it, it gives me great satisfaction, and appears to me to be well calculated to fulfil the purpose for which it professes to be intended — to supply the wants of common schools, and to be a sufficient manual for schools of a higher order.

WASHINGTON IRVING.

From the Hon. Josiah Quincy, LL. D., late President of Harvard University

QUINCY, MASS., October 9, 1855.

As I once, I think, told you, that agreeing with Lord Bolingbroke in little else, I shared his admiration and gratitude for *writers of dictionaries*, — he thought them worthy of special thanks to Heaven, — works so full of labor, so extensive in their objects of research, yet so minute in the subjects of attention; so useful as to have become a *necessity* to literary life, yet requiring for success so many particulars, various in their kinds, so much general knowledge, so much accuracy of thought, combined with judgment in investigation, that it seems that nature must be more than usually beneficent to confer on any one man all the qualities requisite to a happy result in the undertaking. The public have long since passed judgment on your qualifications, and the lapse of many years has confirmed its earliest decisions.

JOSIAH QUINCY.

From Francis Bowen, A. M., Alford Professor of Moral Philosophy in Harvard College, and late Editor of the North American Review.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., October 4, 1855.

I am much obliged to you for the copy of your new Dictionary, which I have examined with some care. It seems well adapted to answer its purpose as an academic text-book, being of convenient size, and distinctly printed on good paper, so that it can be freely consulted without injury to the eyes. The vocabulary is full enough, and the character of the predecessors of the book is a sufficient voucher for its accuracy. The synonyms are a valuable addition to the plan of the work, and so far as I have examined them they appear to be concisely and clearly expressed. I have no doubt that it will have the ample success which has attended all your previous publications on lexicography.

FRANCIS BOWEN.

From the Rev. Edward Hitchcock, D. D., late President of Amherst College.

AMHERST, MASS., October 3, 1855.

I acknowledge with gratitude the receipt of your new Pronouncing, Explanatory, and Synonymous Dictionary. Having been in the habit of using the "Universal and Critical Dictionary" almost exclusively for several years, I shall welcome the new one with its improvements and additions. So far as I have examined it, it seems to me admirably adapted to the sphere it was intended to occupy. I trust the public will appreciate its value, and thus reward you in some measure for your indefatigable and long-continued labors in this department of learning.

EDWARD HITCHCOCK.

WORCESTER'S NEW DICTIONARY.

From the Hon. John McLean, LL. D., Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, October 21, 1855.

I thank you for a copy of your "Pronouncing, Explanatory, and Synonymous Dictionary of the English Language." Ever since the publication of your large Dictionary I have had it near me in my library, and one of the smaller editions I have always had on my table, at every place where my public duties call me.

I have often felt desirous that you should publish a more copious edition than the smaller volume of the work, without increasing its size so as to render it unportable. Your late publication is all that can be desired in this respect: and it contains much valuable information on orthography, and the pronunciation of words, which is not found in any other dictionary.

JOHN MCLEAN.

From the Rev. Eliphalet Nott, D. D., Pres. of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.

UNION COLLEGE, N. Y., 2 October, 1855.

The very acceptable present of a copy of "Worcester's Academic Dictionary" has come to hand. With the larger work I have long been familiar, and can cheerfully bear testimony to its great merit. It is at once a monument to the honor of its author and to the country thus signalized by his labors. From a glance at the contents of this volume I doubt not it will add alike to the literary wealth of the community and to the reputation of the author.

Trusting that this production, the result of so much patient toil and extensive research, will receive from the public the reward it so richly deserves, I am, very respectfully, yours,

ELIPH'T NOTT.

From C. C. Felton, LL. D., Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard College.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., October 1, 1855.

I am greatly obliged to you for the copy of your Dictionary which you sent to me. I shall keep it on my table for constant reference, and I know very well it will be extremely useful to me. It gives me great pleasure to see the general and hearty recognition of the value of your labors in this important department of literature. The influence of your works is rapidly extending, in spite of opposition; and I am very sure that your great Dictionary will become the standard everywhere.

C. C. FELTON.

From the Rev. William A. Stearns, D. D., President of Amherst College.

AMHERST COLLEGE, MASS., October 2, 1855.

I have already looked into it [the Dictionary] sufficiently to see that it is a great improvement on your former work, which to say of any work of the kind is the greatest praise. I am sure it will be hailed with gladness by the best scholars in the country. Henceforth, for years to come, if my life should be spared, the copy you have kindly forwarded to me will have a place within the reach of my study table, and be numbered among my daily companions.

WILLIAM A. STEARNS.

WORCESTER'S NEW DICTIONARY.

From the Rev. Charles G. Finney, President of Oberlin College.

OBERLIN, OHIO, October 6, 1855.

I have examined your Dictionary in respect to those things in which all others are, in my estimation, deficient, and am of opinion that, for the English reader, this work will meet the wants of the American people far better than any thing hitherto published. Within the last quarter of a century many foreign words have come into common use, especially in our periodical literature, the signification of which few English readers understand. The advance of science in all its departments is also bringing before the common reader many terms and phrases not generally understood. Our youth resort in vain to the English or American Dictionaries for the definition of those words and phrases. Our language is constantly receiving additions from almost every language of Europe. Besides many foreign terms and phrases not understood in this country because of their origin, many obsolete terms are coming again into use. We hardly take up a newspaper, and seldom a quarterly, without finding something to puzzle the English reader, no explanation of which is found in our standard Dictionaries. This want has pressed more heavily upon the reading public from year to year. I have looked over the pages of your work, and have been pleased to find nearly every thing of the kind I refer to that could be desired. It is a timely and highly important book. It is needed in nearly every family, and will be much valued by the reader. That it may have the circulation it deserves is my earnest wish.

CHARLES G. FINNEY.

From the Rev. James Walker, D. D., President of Harvard College.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., October 5, 1855.

I have looked your Pronouncing, Explanatory, and Synonymous Dictionary over with some care, and think the additions and improvements you have introduced into it, compared with any of your former Dictionaries, are important, especially as regards synonymes. It is beyond question the most convenient Dictionary for the study-table, and for common use, which I have yet seen.

JAMES WALKER.

From the Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, LL. D., President of Rutgers College.

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J., October 6, 1855.

I heartily thank you for your excellent "Pronouncing, Explanatory, and Synonymous Dictionary." I shall prize it as a most valuable help in all its departments — and especially in the last. It was a happy thought to interweave the synonymous explanations; they so much and readily aid hard-working men, who have so little time for research, as those who have many executive duties in seminaries and colleges.

THEO. FRELINGHUYSEN.

From the Rev. Daniel Kirkwood, LL. D., President of Delaware College.

DELAWARE COLLEGE, October 3, 1855.

I have just received the copy of your "Dictionary of the English Language," which you had the goodness to forward me. I regard the work as one of great merit, admirably adapted to the uses for which it is designed.

DANIEL KIRKWOOD.

WORCESTER'S NEW DICTIONARY.

From the Rev. James B. Dodd, President of Transylvania University.

LEXINGTON, KY., October 6, 1855.

It would exceed the limits which must be prescribed to this communication to enter particularly into the merits of this Dictionary, and I must be content with the general testimonial that, for the purposes of convenient consultation by readers of every class, and more especially by the *student* who would gain a *critical*, a *practical*, and an *extensive* acquaintance with the English and American language undefiled, there is no Dictionary equal to this.

I have no other motive for commending this work than such as may be supposed to spring from a zeal which has grown out of long service in the cause of education, and a desire to see some honor done to the veteran author of the work, who, from the "accursed love of gold," has been sought to be made the victim of literary injustice and fraud in this country and in England.

JAMES B. DODD.

From the Rev. Benjamin Hale, D. D., President of Hobart Free College, Geneva, N. Y.

GENEVA, N. Y., October 11, 1855.

I have used your larger Dictionary many years with great satisfaction, and your smaller one I have been in the habit of recommending for the use of pupils. I am much pleased with the edition I have just received. The addition of the synonymes is valuable, and, so far as I have examined, seems to be very aptly done, and the whole work to be very complete for its purpose.

BENJAMIN HALE.

From the Rev. C. Collins, D. D., President of Dickinson College.

CARLEISLE, PA., October 5, 1855.

I have to acknowledge the receipt from you of a copy of your "Pronouncing, Explanatory, and Synonymous Dictionary of the English Language." After giving it a somewhat careful examination, I take pleasure in saying that it seems to me to fulfil the conditions of a common reference Dictionary more perfectly than any one now before the public. I shall recommend to the college bookseller to order it for the use of the students.

C. COLLINS.

From the Rev. Wm. A. Smith, D. D., President of Randolph Macon College, Va.

RANDOLPH MACON COLLEGE, VA., October 18, 1855.

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your small Dictionary. I embraced an early opportunity to examine it, and am happy to state that your additions to the plan usually pursued in works of the kind are decided improvements, greatly increasing the practical value of a Dictionary.

WM. A. SMITH.

From S. H. Taylor, LL. D., Principal of Phillips' Academy, Andover, Mass.

ANDOVER, MASS., October 5, 1855.

It seems to me to combine unusual excellences, and as a manual for general use, and for high schools and colleges, it has no superior. The attention given to the principal synonymes of the language is a new and valuable feature. I am confident that the Dictionary will meet the high expectations of the public.

S. H. TAYLOR.

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WORCESTER'S DICTIONARIES are used in the Public Schools of the cities of Boston, New York, Baltimore, Washington, D. C., New Orleans, St. Louis, Chicago, Cleveland, Buffalo, Rochester, Schenectady, and in many other of the principal cities and towns in the United States. The unprincipled attacks made by selfish and interested parties upon the character of Dr. Worcester and his Dictionaries have only attracted the attention of the public to the merits of his works; and the sale of them is rapidly increasing in every part of the country.

Dr. Worcester has done more to establish the accuracy of pronunciation than any other English Lexicographer. In all disputable cases, he has not been content with expressing his own preference, but by the citation of the most distinguished authorities, he has left the student the means of determining for himself.

Every practical teacher knows that one of the principal uses of a Dictionary in a school room is to determine the proper pronunciation of words. Most of the dictionaries used are defective in this particular. Take, for instance, the following classes of words in Webster's Dictionary: *bait, bear; date, dare; fate, fare; hate, hare; late, lair; mate, mare; pate, pare; rate, rare; wait, ware, &c.* In all these words Webster improperly gives but one sound of *a*, viz., the long sound as heard in *fate*. The absurdity of this, as well as the impossibility of following his directions, may readily be seen by pronouncing the foregoing class of words in rapid succession. Webster makes no distinction between the sounds of *e* in *merit* and *mercy*; *merry* and *merchant*; and of *u* in *hurry* and *hurdle*. His errors, which extend in similar classes of words throughout all his dictionaries, arise from his imperfect knowledge of the power of the letter *r*. A moment's reflection will show that this letter has a peculiar influence on both the long and the short sound of the vowel which precedes it, in a monosyllable, or in an accented syllable, unless the succeeding syllable begins with a vowel sound; as, *care, fare, pare, mercy, merchant, hurdle, &c.* When the succeeding syllable begins with a vowel sound, the sound of the preceding vowel is not modified; as, *merit, merrry, hurry, &c.*

Dr. Worcester has wisely made a distinction in marking the sounds of these classes of words; and for this and other excellences, his works are commended by the best scholars in the country.

Teachers have only to examine his Dictionaries, and they will be sure to recommend the use of them.

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